



Daily Report

East Europe

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7 February 1994

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Owen Comments on Possibility of Air Strikes

AU0702132494 Paris AFP in English 1252 GMT
7 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 7 (AFP)—European Community mediator Lord Owen was evasive Monday on the possibility of launching air strikes to retaliate against the weekend mortar attack in Sarajevo saying that only "a fool" would want such action. "Nobody but a fool wants air strikes but on the other hand nobody but a fool can go on tolerating the situation in which as many people can lose their lives as it happened Saturday in Sarajevo," Owen said following a meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. The mortar attack Saturday occurred in a crowded Sarajevo market killing 68 people and injuring about 200.

Owen said his meeting with Milosevic centered on what could be done to avoid a similar tragedy in the future. He added that the meeting to be held Thursday in Geneva between Bosnia's three warring parties—Moslems, Serbs and Croats—"is not a meeting to discuss global peace settlement but to discuss confidence building measures." He said these measures would include setting up a "hot line" between the Serbs and Moslems that would lead to a demilitarization of the Sarajevo region.

Owen: FRY Neighbors To Hold Summit on Bosnia

AU0402214494 Paris AFP in English 2129 GMT
4 Feb 94

[Text] Rome, Feb 4 (AFP)—Turkey and seven countries neighboring ex-Yugoslavia have agreed to meet Wednesday [9 February] in Geneva with mediators David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg to discuss ways of ending the Bosnian conflict, Owen said here Friday [4 February].

"It will be a private consultation. No communiques, no decisions. An open discussion between the ministers about the problems of the former Yugoslavia, and how regional voice can be raised to influence the outcome, bring an end to the fighting in Bosnia," Owen told a news conference. "None of the parties from the former Yugoslavia will be invited at this stage," he said, adding that if the talks proved "useful," the mediators might hold discussions later on "with the presidents of possibly Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia."

Foreign ministers of the following nations would attend Wednesday: Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Romania, and Turkey. Owen, the European Community's mediator, who with Stoltenberg, the UN mediator, came here on the last leg of a tour of ex-Yugoslavia's neighbors, said the mediators felt "the European Union initiative and the negotiations over Bosnia now need to be discussed within the region and also the wider issues that affect the conference: Serb-Croat relations, the minorities, the Albanians in Macedonia and Kosovo."

Italian Foreign Minister Beniamino Andreatta meanwhile said Bosnian Croats and Moslems might hold talks Wednesday in Rome. The talks could take place between the meeting, Monday and Tuesday, of European Community foreign ministers and Brussels, and the meeting of ex-Yugoslavia's neighbors, he said. Andreatta put the proposal to Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic on Thursday when they met here, he added.

Earlier, in the Bulgarian capital Sofia, Owen said international sanctions against Belgrade over its role in the war in Bosnia could not continue indefinitely. "We can't go on indefinitely asking countries quite far away from fighting to make sacrifices, if there is no readiness of the parties to make peace," he said. Bulgaria is one of the central European countries whose trade and economy have been badly hit by the United Nations embargo against Serbia and Montenegro, the rump Yugoslavia.

"I do not favour lifting sanctions," Owen added. "It would be premature. But I don't think the status quo can carry on indefinitely."

Albania has expressed concern about the war spreading to Kosovo, the restive northern province of Serbia which has a 90 percent Albanian population, or Macedonia, another former member of the Yugoslav federation.

International Mediators Arrive in Albania

AU0402145094 Paris AFP in English 1436 GMT
4 Feb 94

[Text] Sofia, Feb 4 (AFP)—International sanctions against Belgrade over its role in the war in Bosnia can not continue indefinitely, European Community mediator Lord Owen said here Friday [4 February]. "We can't go on indefinitely asking countries quite far away from fighting to make sacrifices, if there is no readiness of the parties to make peace," he told a press conference at the end of a visit to Sofia. Bulgaria is one of the Central European countries whose trade and economy have been badly hit by the United Nations embargo against Serbia and Montenegro, the rump Yugoslavia.

"I do not favour lifting sanctions," Owen added. "It would be premature. But I don't think the status quo can carry on indefinitely."

"Sanctions are applied for a purpose... to achieve a settlement," Owen said. "If there is no way at the end of the day to achieve a settlement, questions would be asked about sanctions. But we have yet not reached that state."

Owen and his UN co-mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg had talks here Thursday with President Zhelev and Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov before going on Friday to Albania in a tour of Yugoslavia's neighbours.

In Tirana, presidential spokesman Genc Pollo said they saw President Sali Berisha. Albania has expressed concern about the war spreading to Kosovo, the restive northern province of Serbia which has a 90 percent

Albanian population, or Macedonia, another former member of the Yugoslav federation.

TANJUG: Kohl Says Tudjman Violating Law

LD0502203894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1802 GMT 5 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 5 (TANJUG)—German Chancellor Helmut Kohl on Saturday accused Croatian President Franjo Tudjman of violating international law by sending regular army troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina, and threatened to suspend all economic aid to Croatia. "Whoever changes borders through the use of force cannot count on the support of Germany," Kohl said in the so far sharpest statement addressed to Croatia, according to foreign news agencies. Kohl spoke at a meeting of around 200 ranking Western officials and security experts in Munich. Kohl, whose country had wholeheartedly supported Croatia's forcible secession from the former Yugoslav Federation, said he would "not support anyone who oversteps the limits of normal, acceptable behaviour under international law."

Germany was the one to push the then European Community into recognizing Croatia in early January 1992. The U.N. Security Council on Thursday threatened to introduce sanctions against Croatia because of the presence of its regular army troops in the war-torn former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to U.N. estimates, between 3,000 and 5,000 regular Croatian Army troops are fighting on the side of Bosnian Croats against the Muslims.

Spain, Denmark Say Decision on Sanctions 'Imminent'

AU0302162194 Paris AFP in English 1559 GMT 3 Feb 94

[Text] Zagreb, Feb 3 (AFP)—The Spanish and Danish foreign ministers indicated Thursday [3 February] that a decision on sanctions against Croatia was imminent, as Zagreb continued to deny the presence of its troops in Bosnia.

Spanish Foreign Minister Javier Solana issued his warning after meeting here with Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic.

Solana said that if reports of regular Croatian troops being involved in fighting in Bosnia turned out to be

true, "the international community will have to seriously examine the issue" of sanctions, the Croatian news agency HINA reported.

Valentic rejected the charges and said that "the international community's pressure for a peaceful settlement must be applied evenly on all warring parties," the agency added.

Zagreb has acknowledged that up to 2,000 "volunteers"—mostly Croats of Bosnian origin—were fighting alongside Bosnian Croat (HVO) forces in Bosnia, but said that no active regular army troops were involved.

Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic said in Rome Thursday that although some of the Bosnia "volunteers" were former soldiers and officers, there were no regular Croatian forces serving there.

Zagreb had no intention of intervening in the Bosnian conflict, he said after a meeting with his Italian counterpart Beniamino Andreatta, adding that the number of volunteer fighters on the Moslem side was much higher.

Andreatta earlier told Italy's parliamentary foreign affairs committee that, if reports of the presence of regular Croatian troops in Bosnia were correct, there were dangers of a "substantial change in the attitude of the international community towards Croatia."

He added: "The position of Italy and other European countries, who have until now forcefully rejected calls for a lifting of the arms embargo against the Bosnian Moslems, would risk being weakened."

Meanwhile in Copenhagen Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen said that "the United Nations should impose sanctions against Croatia because of its military involvement in Bosnia."

He said Denmark would appeal for sanctions at the European Community's foreign minister-level meeting in Brussels Monday, and would also propose, as an alternative, the lifting of Croatia's preferential trade status with the EC.

Although he admitted that opinions are divided within the EC, he said Denmark felt that the presence of Croatian troops in Bosnia "should not go unnoticed."

After his meeting with Valentic Thursday, Solana was to meet with UN special envoy in ex-Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi before heading back to Madrid.

He had earlier visited the Spanish UN peacekeeping contingent in Medjugorje, in southern Bosnia.

Serb Diplomat Comments on Recognizing Macedonia

AU0302184294 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian
29 Jan 94 p 8

[Interview with Professor Dr. Rados Smilkovic, charge d'affaires at Yugoslav Embassy in Sofia, by Vulko Vulkov and Albena Shkodrova; place and date not given: "The Serbs Have Nothing Against What Is Good for the Bulgarians"]

[Excerpts] [STANDART NEWS] Now that the UN Security Council has granted permission for convoys of trucks to ship Bulgarian goods through the FRY, do you think it is possible that public organizations like "New Byzantium" and "White Rose" may appear and block the convoys? What does Serbian public opinion think about the shipment of Bulgarian goods?

[Smilkovic] I have no reports on anyone wanting to block the transit of Bulgarian goods. As far as the Serbian people are concerned, I can say that have nothing against anything that is to the benefit of the Bulgarians. We know that the transshipment of these goods is of vital importance for you.

However, it is difficult for me to say whether some organization may appear that wants to block the convoys. Nevertheless, public opinion in Yugoslavia is in favor of Bulgaria shipping its goods. [passage omitted]

[STANDART NEWS] If the conflict in Bosnia dies down, do you think that the FRY will undertake operations in Kosovo and Macedonia?

[Smilkovic] Kosovo is part of Serbia, and the problem is an internal one, of concern only to the FRY. It is being resolved according to the Constitution and the laws of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia, while, of course, observing world standards regarding minority rights.

As for Macedonia, it is an independent state. In the SFRY it had the status of a republic, just like the other republics, and this was never disputed. We have never opposed the notion that the Macedonians are a nation and, most important, the Serbian people have never disputed this either.

Thus, the issue of the recognition of Macedonia as a separate state and of the Macedonians as a separate nation is not a matter of dispute for the Serbian public.

Regarding the actual act of recognition, this is an issue of practical politics that will be settled when it arises on the agenda. In general, the recognition of the former Yugoslav republics has been postponed until such a time as all the issues between them and the FRY are settled. [passage omitted]

[STANDART NEWS] Does this mean that you consider that there are no obstacles to Serbia recognizing Macedonia, if we leave aside the war between Serbia and Bosnia, which is delaying this?

[Smilkovic] In the first place, the FRY has not been in a state of war with Bosnia. As regards Macedonia, I have even gone further than what I know as an official representative of my country, because I am well acquainted with the view of the Serbian people.

[STANDART NEWS] We are not sure whether we have understood you correctly. Are you asserting that in essence there are no obstacles to Serbia recognizing Macedonia?

[Smilkovic] I have already given a straight answer to this question, and I repeat: Yugoslavia and the peoples of Serbia and Montenegro have no dispute concerning the Macedonians as a nation and Macedonia as a state.

The issue of recognition is a political one and will be decided when the time comes. At the moment, during these years, Yugoslavia has many other urgent issues that have to be decided.

Furthermore, during the whole of the period of transition since Yugoslavia began to split up, Belgrade has had the fewest problems of all with Macedonia.

In essence, no unresolved problems exist here. [passage omitted]

[STANDART NEWS] According to reports from Bulgarian correspondents in Yugoslavia, the newspaper of the Bulgarian minority in the Western Outlands [in Serbia], which resumed publication with such a fuss, produced only two issues before shutting down again. The appearance of the newspaper is interpreted as part of the election campaign waged by the official authorities. What is your comment on this?

[Smilkovic] Such an assessment is not based on facts and sounds rather ill-intentioned. The difficulties with the printing of the BRATSTVO ["Brotherhood"] newspaper, as in the case of other newspapers, are primarily a result of the economic situation. Unfortunately, the unjust UN sanctions are having a negative effect on the press as well.

Apart from this, recently some of the Bulgarian mass media have been politicizing the situation of the Bulgarian minority in Yugoslavia. A problem is being artificially created. I am surprised that this is happening at a moment when all the citizens of the FRY are fighting to survive, because the unjust UN sanctions that I mentioned are threatening the very basis of human existence.

Incidentally, I know much more about the situation of this minority than the others for the simple reason that I have many friends among its representatives.

A few days ago I was in Bosilegrad. I wanted to ask how many members of the Bulgarian minority hold positions in the leading structures. However, I found there was no reason to ask, because the membership of these leading structures was entirely composed of Bulgarians. For example, every third person in Dimitrovgrad has a post.

There are not many Bulgarians in Yugoslavia. They were not numerous even when they entered the country.

Nevertheless, they have been preserved. Do you think that they would have remained if anyone had been oppressing them?

Incidentally, as we are talking about this issue, do you realize how bad the Bulgarians in Yugoslavia feel when someone comes from Bulgaria and hands out aid only to them? I, for example, would find it insulting to receive medicine or anything else, while my neighbor gets nothing merely because he belongs to another nationality. For this reason, individual efforts to donate aid on a purely ethnic basis are unacceptable, because such aid has no humanitarian purpose and can only cause harm.

Gligorov Sees U.S. Troops as 'Peace Action'

*AU0402162194 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian
1 Feb 94 p 17*

[Interview with Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov by unnamed STANDART NEWS correspondent; place and date not given: "Stable Macedonia Can Be a Guarantor Against War Spreading in the Balkans"]

[Text] [STANDART NEWS] Mr. President, various sources, both newspapermen and political figures, claim that cases of violating the sanctions against Yugoslavia have occurred at the border with Bulgaria. Is it true?

[Gligorov] Bulgaria is a neighbor country with which we have an open border and free traffic. Both we and the Bulgarians are observing the sanctions, which does not mean that cases of busting the Yugo-embargo do not occasionally occur. Nevertheless, Macedonia, being an UN member, respects the sanctions.

[STANDART NEWS] After the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia, what will be the next steps on the international scene?

[Gligorov] Recognition is of great importance to us. After Macedonia was admitted to the UN, our country officially established its identity as an independent state recognized by the international organizations and participating legitimately in international life. We shall pursue our efforts to establish diplomatic relations with all countries.

We welcome the initiative of integrating the countries of Central and Eastern Europe with the "Partnership for Peace" initiative. We sent a letter to the Brussels summit in which we declared our intention of participating in the relevant meeting.

[STANDART NEWS] Do you have a clear concept on solving the problem with Greece?

[Gligorov] As far as we are concerned, the problem could be easily resolved as long as we discuss it, as long as we take the peace and stability of the Balkans into consideration, and as long as we behave like sensible people who can settle all their controversial problems as good neighbors should.

Actually, we have no great controversies and territorial claims [regarding Greece]. The borders are determined and recognized by both sides. The other problems are rather based on emotional and historical motivations and should not even be on the agenda.

It is our wish to pursue our diplomatic negotiations with Greece.

[STANDART NEWS] Macedonia is not a member of the Council of Europe as yet. What is being done to speed up its admission?

[Gligorov] We have the status of a country specially invited by the European Council of Ministers, which, only a few days ago, decided to start the procedure of admitting Macedonia as a full member to the organization.

Macedonia is a member of the Central European Initiative, which includes Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, and Austria.

[STANDART NEWS] Do you think that there is any danger involved in connection with Serbia's claims toward Macedonia?

[Gligorov] Serbia should prove whether it has any claims regarding Macedonia or not by recognizing our country. As long as this has not occurred, we should be cautious and take into account the fact that political forces insisting on Macedonia not being an independent state still exist in Serbia. Macedonia is in favor of cooperation with all former Yugoslav republics and with all Balkan countries, but it is not inclined to join any closer alliance with Serbia, under the form of a confederation or under any other form of integration. The war has been going on too long in that part, too much blood has been shed, and one can hardly expect any form of political integration with that state, after Macedonia waged such a long and hard struggle for its own independence.

We would like to build our country as an independent, sovereign, democratic, and rule-of-law state.

[STANDART NEWS] What about Albania?

[Gligorov] Basically, I do not see any danger stemming from that country. However, assuming that the armed conflict is likely to continue for some time, possible unrest in Kosovo cannot be excluded, since the problems of that area are still unresolved. Hence, we should be aware of what might happen in the future.

[STANDART NEWS] Is it possible that Serbia might stimulate a threat from the Albanian side in the purpose of forcing Skopje to apply for Serbia's "protection."

[Gligorov] I see no reason for Macedonia to seek an alliance with Serbia against Albania.

Albanians who live in our country are Macedonians by Law. We saw what the ideas of greater Serbia, greater Albania, and greater Croatia have produced. We should

live like peaceful neighbors. Albanians live in Macedonia, but Macedonians exist in Albania as well. Let them all exist as they did before, while the borders should be open and people be able to move freely from one country to the other.

[STANDART NEWS] How do you accept the presence of U.S. soldiers in Macedonia?

[Gligorov] Our relations with the United States are friendly. They are interested in peaceful relations with the Balkans. I assess the fact that they chose to station their military units in Macedonia as a preventive peace action. A peaceful and stable Macedonia is an obstacle to the expansion of the military conflict.

Parliament Debates SDS No-Confidence Motion

AU0502151694 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 4 Feb 94

[Report by Mariya Tsankova]

[Text] Today's plenary session of the National Assembly was extended to allow the deputies to debate the motion for a no confidence vote in Lyuben Berov's cabinet proposed by the parliamentary group of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces]. The proposers of the motion argued that the government was to blame for failing to bring the crime rate under control and to act against the growth of organized crime. The Socialist deputies did not [word indistinct] their criticisms of the Berov cabinet, but called for the drafting of a national program to combat crime. The National Assembly deputies of the New Alliance for Democracy gave the government and the Interior Ministry leadership a one-month deadline to conduct a purge at all levels within the Interior Ministry to remove corrupt officials.

The actual vote on the no-confidence motion will be held by secret ballot next Wednesday [9 February]. On Tuesday [8 February] the National Assembly will hold an extraordinary plenary session, at which the deputies are likely to debate the state budget bill, the excise bill, the draft law on aliens' residence in Bulgaria, and the draft law on the National Security Service.

Minister Denies Reports on Bugging of Parliament

AU0402151294 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 1 Feb 94 p 1

["DUMA PRESS" report]

[Text] Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov described as a complete fabrication the reports issued by the Balkan Agency on 31 January alleging that foreign intelligence services were eavesdropping on closed sessions of the National Assembly and some of the parliamentary commissions.

Last night the agency disseminated a report that the Russians had warned our special services that this was

happening. The Russians allegedly hinted that the Americans had eavesdropped on the secrets of the Bulgarian legislators. According to the report, a commission had already been formed to investigate the tip-off, with members from the NSO [National Protection Service], the VKR [Military Counterintelligence], the Higher Institute of the Interior Ministry, and other bodies. It was claimed that it was easy to wiretap the proceedings of parliament from a telephone cable junction box nearby.

Last night DUMA reporters were unable to find any junction box outside the National Assembly. Viktor Mikhaylov said that the Interior Ministry Institute cannot take part in such a commission because it has no consultative powers.

Specialists point out that the National Protection Service provides bodyguards, and does not perform operational functions. Even former spies, who had suffered bitter experiences when the former military counterintelligence was destroyed, discounted the possibility of Military Counterintelligence being involved in such matters.

Commentator Sees DPS Leader as 'False Prophet'

AU0702123894 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 3 Feb 1994 p 6

[Commentary by Konstantin Subchev: "False Prophet"]

[Text] Another legend in our new political mythology collapsed with the rebellion of National Assembly members Mehmed Hodzha and Receb Cinar, and that is that Ahmed Dogan commands an "iron guard" in the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS]. The disputed legitimacy of the DPS in Bulgarian political life and the fresh memories of the "revival process," ensured an internal unity and discipline within the DPS of which all other parties were envious. In addition the DPS succeeded in implementing all its demands regarding the Bulgarian Muslims' rights and freedoms. However, it is impossible to live only by acquiring the right to learn the mother language and the freedom to pray. It was precisely the DPS supporters, especially those in the southern parts of the country, who were most affected by the shock therapy and the economic crisis. Consequently the stream of tourists with a one-way ticket to Turkey has not stopped.

It was Ahmed Dogan himself who inflicted the heaviest blow on the DPS. The media created the aura of him as the best Bulgarian politician, while his supporters elevated him to the rank of a prophet. However, with his behavior, which resembles that of an eastern sultan and with his unclear sources of income he provided his impoverished electorate with sufficient reasons for dissatisfaction. In addition, his authoritarian style of leadership and almost conspiratorial political contacts created a conflict within the DPS leadership. Thus Ahmed Dogan gradually became one of the numerous false prophets in Bulgarian political life. According to both the Bible and the Koran such prophets have an unenviable fate. However, perhaps the "Dogan case" really is a part of a greater game?

Minister Reacts to Complaint About Dukovany Fire

LD0402202894 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0800 GMT 4 Feb 94

[Text] It is the duty of the Czech Republic to insure the safety standards of the nuclear power industry on its territory, and Austria has neither the right nor the duty to intervene in this matter. This was the indirect reaction of Vladimir Dlouhy, minister of trade and industry, to claims made by Peter Rosenstingl, the Austrian Freedom Party spokesman, that the Czech nuclear power industry was becoming an ever-more-serious safety hazard for the whole of Europe.

According to Minister Dlouhy, the causes of the fire at the Dukovany nuclear power station were of a routine nature and therefore should not be interpreted as evidence of the Czech Republic's obsolete technology and its failure to insure nuclear safety. Such a breakdown could happen anywhere. The fact that it has happened just now is rather unpleasant, added Vladimir Dlouhy.

Police Collect Names of Collaborating Journalists

AU0402131894 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 3 Feb 94 p 2

[Article by "ina": "Police Authorities Are Drafting a List of All Journalists Who Have Written About Them"]

[Text] Prague—In mid-January, the Police Presidium requested from the district police directorates lists of the journalists with whom they collaborate. The presidium asked not only for the names of reporters who deal with security issues but also for their pen names or the indentation symbols they use. According to police spokesman Ales Svoboda, the requests have only been made by telephone so far; there is no written evidence of them. The spokesman said yesterday that the Police Presidium only wanted to update the current list of

journalists. He denied any claims that the collection of names and symbols of the reporters was to serve for their persecution.

"It is only so that we know whom to invite to news conferences, for instance," he said. According to Svoboda, it is becoming ever more frequent that people call the police claiming to be journalists.

New Independent Commercial TV Station Viewed

LD0602105194 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 5 Feb 94

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The first national commercial television station in the postsocialist countries is Nova, a Czech independent television company. You may be interested in the fact that the name Nova was chosen by a lady living in Bratislava.

The license was awarded by the Radio and Television Broadcasting Council of the Czech Republic on 30 January 1993, and the deadline for starting the broadcast was yesterday [4 February]. Nova is ambitious: It will broadcast on average 19 hours a day, using the former F1 [federal television] channel. It will broadcast newsreels and current affairs programs, some documentaries, and entertainment and musical programs. To begin with, it owns broadcasting rights for more than 400 foreign films, which will be broadcast dubbed. Nova will use the opportunity to insert advertisements during film screenings, but only with the approval of the films' authors. Also, much is expected from daily morning programs.

An interesting program feature is a vox populi, a sort of television Hyde Park. In the Krone department store [in Prague], there is a television cabin where, for a fee of 10 [Czech] korunas, you can record any message you wish. [passage omitted]

According to Vladimir Zelezny, the Nova director general, the viewers are expected to be average Czech citizens. There are no unnecessarily high expectations about their viewers, but they are not being underestimated, either. [passage omitted]

Hungarian Envoy Denies Claims of Hungarian Buyout

LD0502204594 Bratislava Slovak Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 5 Feb 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Jeno Boros, the Hungarian ambassador to Bratislava, held a series of meetings with Slovak political figures this week. He met Sergej Kozlik, the deputy prime minister in charge of economic transformation. [passage omitted]

[Begin Boros recording] These meetings took place at my own request. [passage omitted] With Mr. Sergej Kozlik, we reviewed the development of bilateral economic relations. During the talks, I referred to the alarming tales that recently spread here in Slovakia—I would put the phrase "alarming tales" in quotation marks—according to which Hungarian investments have flooded southern Slovakia; Hungary, as it were, buys up the assets of southern Slovakia. I called the attention of the deputy prime minister to the fact that this was by no means the case, although we were very pleased that more than 345 Hungarian-Slovak joint enterprises were in operation. Despite this, the Hungarian capital flowing into Slovakia through these firms amounts to less than half of 1 percent of the total capital inflow into Slovakia.

While it is true that, according to Slovak statistics, the share of Hungarian capital in southern Slovakia is 49 percent, the fact of the matter is that these monies originate not from Hungary but from the entrepreneurs of ethnic Hungarians living in southern Slovakia. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Views of Citizens on Ethnic Rights

AU0402152894 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 3 Feb 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Clear Language of Facts; 87 Percent of Citizens Think That Minority Rights Are Being Implemented in the Slovak Republic"]

[Text] As many as 87 percent of people questioned are of the opinion that conditions exist in the Slovak Republic for the genuine implementation of ethnic minorities' rights in the school system and in the educational field, while 8 percent are of the opposite opinion. The chief factor accounting for differentiation among the citizens' views is nationality. Among members of the Hungarian ethnic minority, 61 percent of respondents said that conditions exist in Slovakia for the implementation of minority rights, and 35 percent are of the opinion that they do not exist. As many as 91 percent of citizens belonging to other ethnic minorities (Ukrainians, Czechs, Romanies, Poles, and so forth) replied that these conditions have been established in Slovakia, which is the same number as among citizens of the Slovak nationality.

Prime Minister Discusses Economic Issues

LD0502232594 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 5 Feb 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer] After a lapse of two weeks, the government conducted a weekend working meeting in Trencianske Teplice [central Slovakia]. It was attended by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, deputies and ministers [responsible for] the economy, and Vladimir Masar, governor of the National Bank of Slovakia.

[Unidentified correspondent] Cabinet members dealt with measures to stabilize the state budget income. They analyzed in greater detail uncollected revenue, the balance of payments in trade with the Czech Republic and Russia, and foreign debts and the possibility of acquiring foreign resources. The deficit in the state budget for January reached 4.5 billion korunas, which, according to Julius Toth, deputy prime minister and finance minister, was caused by payments made to the National Insurance [Department] to ensure that it [National Insurance] could become functional. [passage omitted]

Toth said we had exact import specifications from the Czech Republic. He suggested that we were certainly also importing articles from the Czech Republic that were also produced in Slovakia, but, on the other hand, we were contractually bound by several commercial operations with this country that could not be canceled, only because we had, according to him, temporary problems. The solution should be sought in finding different alternatives. However, import duties are out of the question at the moment. It is more likely that we will have to strengthen the inspection of foreign products, and, above all, their quality. The introduction, in two stages, of special border checks is being considered.

The first will deal with the quality control of food products to be introduced on 1 March. The second will concentrate on all other articles; the time for the introduction has not yet been determined.

Council Views Document on Economic Strategy

AU0402132494 Bratislava SME in Slovak 3 Feb 94 p 3

[Article by "is": "Prognoses of Macroeconomic Quantities for 1994: Moderate Progress Within the Limits of Economic Recession"]

[Text] Bratislava—"The following basic, long-term economic priorities follow for the economic policy of the Slovak Republic from the strategy of the Republic's incorporation into the process of European integration: transition to an effective anti-inflationary policy (that is, the attainment of an annual rate of inflation of under 5 percent); transition to an effective budget policy seeking a reduction in the proportion of the public budgets' deficit in the gross domestic product [GDP] to approximately 3 percent; the maintenance or a minimal increase in the proportion of the state debt in the GDP (to a maximum of 55 percent of the GDP); and, in monetary policy, a further search for a stable exchange rate and a

transition to full convertibility of the Slovak koruna [Sk]. This is stated in the Concept of the Strategy of the Economic Policy of the Slovak Republic for 1994-95, which was discussed by the Economic Council of the Slovak Government last week.

Regarding the forecast of the development of macroaggregates [makroagregaty] in 1994, GDP growth should be in the range of minus 4.8 percent to plus 0.5 percent; the Sk's exchange rate against the U.S. dollar from Sk32 to Sk38; the GDP per capita in dollar terms from \$2,119 to \$1,744 [figures as published]; the rate of inflation from 11 percent to 22 percent; the rate of unemployment from 16 percent to 24 percent; and the state budget deficit in terms of proportion in the GDP from 5 percent to 7.5 percent. The foreign debt (that is, the indebtedness of the Slovak National Bank) should be between \$3.3 and \$4.7 billion; the state debt as a proportion of the GDP between 20 and 35 percent; debt servicing from \$500 to \$600 million, of which \$300-400 million should be interest payments; foreign exchange reserves from \$600 to \$750 million; and the balance of payments from minus \$155 million to plus \$180 million, of which the trade balance should be in the range of minus \$574 million to minus \$150 million and the balance of services between plus \$200 million and plus \$374 million. This data was worked out on the basis of forecasts by the OECD, FAZ [FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG], Laenderanalysen [preceding word in German], Infostat, and the Center of Strategic Studies.

As is stated in the aforesaid "Concept," however, the following development of macroaggregates is realistically feasible: GDP growth from minus 2.8 to 0 percent, state budget deficit from Sk14 to Sk18 billion, growth of external debt by \$1-\$1.4 billion; rate of inflation between 12 and 15 percent; rate of unemployment of under 18 percent; and growth of state debt, including external debt, in the range of 30-35 percent of the GDP.

One of the aims of economic policy should be a gradual easing of the tax burden, with the aim of stimulating demand. In this context, the "Concept" states that "the draft state budget and the draft local budgets of the Slovak Republic for 1993 reckoned that revenue from taxes and mandatory insurance payments would amount to 54 percent of the GDP, which places the Slovak Republic in the category of countries with the highest rate of taxation in the world." Another aim should be to attain at least a 50-percent share of the private sector in the generation of the GDP.

Party Heads on Prospects for Meciar Government

LD0402232094 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 2130 GMT 4 Feb 94

[Text] According to Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left, the survival or dismissal of the Vladimir Meciar government depends on the stance of the deputies of the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia. Some of them joined the opposition, attending

yesterday's parliament session, which the government coalition decided to boycott.

Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement, said that the Slovak opposition had not yet drafted a proposal on a vote of no confidence in the Vladimir Meciar government. However, according to him, events are moving in this direction. He assesses the current situation as a moderate strategic victory for the opposition because the government coalition deputies were forced to leave the parliament, choosing the tactics of obstruction. Carnogursky is convinced that the opposition camp will preserve its unity now.

Democratic Party Chairman Killed in Car Crash

LD0602192594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Text] Democratic Party Chairman Anton Duris and his driver died in an automobile accident approaching the village of Plesivec, Roznava district [East Slovakia] at 0745 hours today.

Duris was traveling from Kosice, where he took part on Saturday [5 February] in the district unification assembly of the Conservative Democratic Party and the Democratic Party, to Banska Bystrica to take part today in the unification assembly of the two parties.

Majority of Residents Approve of Nuclear Plant

AU0402141094 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 3 Feb 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Views on Nuclear Power Plant"]

[Text] Mochovce—Late last year, the staff of the Mochovce Power Plant [EMO] Information Center approached 913 men and women of various ages and education levels living in towns and communities within 40 kilometers of EMO. A total of 57 percent of respondents agree with the further development of nuclear power in the Slovak Republic, and most residents of the region (54 percent) agree with the Mochovce nuclear power plant being put into operation. A comparison with a survey of public opinion carried out by the Agency for Sociological Expert Studies in 1991 provides interesting insights. At that time, 32.2 percent of residents of the region approved of the further development of nuclear power in the Slovak Republic, and only 32.4 percent of respondents approved of EMO being put into operation. People's attitudes are significantly influenced by their education and by their depth of information and knowledge about nuclear power.

Poll Surveys Popularity of Radio Stations

AU0402152694 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 3 Feb 94 p 3

[TA SR report: "Popularity of Radio Stations"]

[Text] Slovensko 1 is the radio station with the largest number of listeners. This transpires from a survey carried out by Slovak Radio's Methodological Research Institute in October and November 1993. Asked when they had last listened to the radio, 73.6 percent of respondents replied that they had listened to Slovensko 1 the same day or the day before. Another 10.2 percent listened to Slovensko 1 in the course of the preceding week, while 9.6 percent have never listened to it.

Rock FM was listened to by 38.4 percent of respondents on the day of the survey or the day before, Slovensko 3 by 22.3 percent, and Fun Radio by 13 percent. From among foreign radio stations, Radio Free Europe was listened to by 4.1 percent in the period under review and the BBC by 1.3 percent.

In the week of the survey, Slovensko 3 was listened to by 15.1 percent, Rock FM by 14.9 percent, Fun Radio by 7.9 percent, Radio Free Europe by 6.5 percent, and the BBC by 2.7 percent of those surveyed.

The BBC has never been listened to by 81.7 percent of the respondents, and Radio Free Europe by 58.3 percent. From among Slovak radio stations, Fun Radio has never been listened to by 69.3 percent of the respondents, Slovensko 3 by 44.1 percent, and Rock FM by 35.5 percent.

The survey was based on a representative sample of 3,814 respondents, using the method of a standardized interview [standardizovany rozhovor].

Gonczi Comments on Decision Behind 8 May Elections

LD0402131994 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 4 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Arpad Goncz, president of the Hungarian Republic, announced at a news briefing this morning the date of the first round of general elections:

[Begin Goncz recording] In accordance with my powers enshrined in Article D of Passage 1 of Paragraph 30-A of the Constitution, I declare that parliamentary elections will be held on Sunday, 8 May 1994. [passage omitted]

I would like to give the points of view that I considered when making this decision. First, the main requirement is that the elections should take place as soon as possible in order to have a stable administration as soon as possible—before the summer season, if possible—and that the second round could be held before the start of the spring work. The date of the second round will not be determined by me but by an election committee formed by the parliament. [passage omitted]

Second, my consideration was also that it should be as cheap as possible. A holiday day would have had to be declared if the election were to be held on a weekday. [passage omitted]

This would have made the elections incredibly more expensive. [passage omitted]

My third consideration was that as many as possible should vote. All parties have an interest in as many voters turning out as possible. My impression is that a large percent of the voters will participate in the ballot. In my view, the people of this country are clear in their mind that they have a stake in the elections. [passage omitted]

Regarding my being above party politics, I can only say that this date does not agree—as far as I know—with the wish of any party. So, if you like, take this as a sign of my being above party politics. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Jeszzenszky, NATO Official Discuss Membership Plan

LD0402160794 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 4 Feb 94

[Text] The Partnership for Peace offered by NATO is acceptable for Hungary only if it leads to full membership in the military organization.

Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said this when he met with Gebhardt von Moltke, NATO assistant secretary general. There was a discussion on what Hungary could offer in exchange for the peace partnership. The work schedule mapping out the details for joint military exercises and training and peacekeeping actions were also discussed and coordinated.

Fur on Reorganization of Armed Forces

LD0602220794 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Interview with Hungarian Defense Minister Lajos Fur by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "This Week" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] [passage omitted] Following the transformation of the regime, we have turned the offensive Hungarian Army into a defensive one, Hungarian Defense Minister Lajos Fur told the "This Week" program. [passage omitted]

Is it true that there were nuclear warheads in Hungary at that time?

[Fur] Yes, it is true. For a long time a special situation prevailed that even we, after the formation of the new government, did not know about it until the Russians moved them [the nuclear warheads] from Hungary. Even now we do not know at exactly how many places these nuclear warheads were stored. We certainly know one or two places, but, it is assumed that there were nuclear warheads in several other places. [passage omitted] There were no such things [nuclear warheads] in the ownership or operation of the Hungarian Army. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] What can be done regarding the reorganization [of the army] in four years?

[Fur] First and foremost, we have put an end to the Army's offensive structure and the entire operations planning system. The Army has to exclusively fulfill defensive functions. The total strength of the Hungarian Army has dropped from 152,000 to less than 100,000 within three years. The drop in the number of professional soldiers over the past three years is almost the same—that is about 25 percent.

[Correspondent] Does the present state of the Army provide a certain level of defense capability?

[Fur] The Army, too, reflects very precisely the country's general social and economic state. That is to say, certain social problems, or even social tensions evolve within this army, as these pressing problems are present in society itself. We have tried, as much as it was possible, to raise wages every year. [passage omitted]

On the other hand, there were purchases in the seventies. However, there have been no more serious purchases in this Army from the beginning of the eighties. [passage omitted]

Let me say that we expect a lot from the setting up of a new humane service [human szolgálat], to consist of officers who are well-prepared and well-trained in social and psychological issues.

[Correspondent] Let me note that there have been comments that this is a kind of revival of the system of political officers.

[Fur] It is very wrong, the two have nothing to do with each other. That was a system of deputy commanders within the Hungarian Army, and this will be a fully subordinated, coordinated, special organization of the Hungarian Army, where the work will be carried out by trained experts. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Is the present state of the Army good enough to continue smooth operations in the event of a change of government, for we cannot know the election results in advance? Will it be able to operate without hitches, which may cause problems either in international relations or at home?

[Fur] Although this army is under political direction, I am certain that it is not committed to any party political program. This army is in fact subordinated to the national cause, and it is also now laid down in law that no one within the army can engage in politics.

[Correspondent] Is it not a kind of pressure that the minister of defense is one of the leaders of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], and may perhaps become its number one leader?

[Fur] By no means. I am the one who usually protests in the firmest manner against any move that perhaps the MDF would like to take in connection with the Army.

[Correspondent] Has the basic transformation been implemented, or can it only be regarded as implemented after joining NATO?

[Fur] It is not only when we have joined NATO, but also when internal tension has eased, which, in my view, requires at least 5-10 years. Then we can say that a full transformation has indeed taken place. It will be a modernized army of national character regarding its' every detail, its' way of thinking, preparedness, organization, and battle order.

Pawlak Addresses Brussels Conference

*WS0402151594 Warsaw BIURO PRASOWE RZADU
INFORMACJA in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Feb 94*

["Excerpts" of a speech by Polish Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak at a conference of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Brussels on 3 February]

[Text] Dear Ladies and Gentlemen:

I accepted with pleasure an invitation by the Center for Strategic and International Studies to meet with such prominent personalities from U.S., European, and Polish business communities, as well as with political leaders of the European Union [EU], NATO, Poland, and the United States.

Such meetings provide good opportunities to conduct discussions, exchange views and conclusions, and debate any issue that is in our mutual interest.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my recognition of the activity of the U.S.-Poland Action Commission, which has done so much for the sake of developing Polish-American cooperation in the political, economic, and scientific areas.

My speech today will be devoted to Poland's policy toward Western political, military, and economic institutions. Establishing closer ties to these institutions—and membership in them in the near future, if possible—is a crucial issue for our security. That issue should be approached against the background of new challenges that Poland (and all of Central Europe) has been confronting in recent times.

Currently, we are going through a period of instability with regard to the European security situation. There are few stable elements in the situation, with positive phenomena and trends being continuously intertwined with negative ones.

The situation has led to another reshaping of the European "security map." A diversification of interests and positions taken by different countries soon became clear, depending on the economic and security standard enjoyed by each of them. It is particularly important to be aware of that fact because it is beyond doubt the most important change in European relations since a "new Europe" was declared in 1990.

That does not mean that "classic" dangers have emerged—for instance, with regard to the territorial integrity of Central European states. Our assessment is that there is no such danger—at least speaking of the short and medium term. Dangers that could occur today would rather take the form of political and economic pressure, a weakening of perceptions and of the "psychological" component of security. The likelihood of sustaining barriers in economic and civil development and of a deterioration in Poland's international position—this is another problem that causes concern.

We must counteract these challenges. It is a supreme obligation of any state to secure its independence and proper conditions for development. Generally speaking, we perceive a permanent anchoring of Poland in the system of connections created by the Western world as the most secure guarantee for protecting the country's interests. So our membership in West European and transatlantic institutions remains a strategic goal for us. But, at a time when the issue of that membership is made difficult—which, by the way, is not because of us—we must demonstrate innovative thinking in the process of looking for transitional solutions. Our own effort—a Polish, Central European effort—will be the determining factor.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Transforming Central and East Europe into any kind of "gray area" would become a cause of instability in this strategic part of the continent. It would also be dangerous when it comes to peace and stability throughout Europe.

Our efforts to participate in Western structures are not targeted against any country. On the contrary, these efforts are supposed to serve to widen the area of stability and European cooperation, and also, as a result of that, they are to strengthen the entire continent's security. We are convinced that extending Western institutions to cover the East will constitute a center around which the framework of the future architecture of European security will be built. The future shape of that center will be determined by today's courage displayed by Western countries in making their decisions. Failure to use the historic opportunity being created by the possibility of gradual extension of a stabilizing influence of the Western democratic sphere, a sphere of peace and prosperity, could have a detrimental impact on the future development of European relations, particularly in the continent's eastern part. The first step toward stabilizing the situation, preventing a disadvantageous development of the situation, should be by way of an opening up of Western structures as soon as possible to those Central European countries that are ready to take the step, and with a simultaneous establishment of partnershiplike relations between the "widened" Western structures and the continent's remaining countries.

We perceive the "Partnership for Peace" initiative, proposed by the NATO "summit," as a first step, which makes the future prospect of Polish membership in NATO more and more realistic. The initiative also assures us of possibilities for wider cooperation with NATO member states than up to now, and it also improves the level of our security.

While declaring a readiness for close cooperation with Western countries in the area of security, we expect the West to come up with concrete cooperation in the technical and technological areas—the kind of cooperation that would allow us to rationally use our scientific

and industrial potential. The prospect of a future, stable, and safe Europe requires supplementing the idea of "Partnership for Peace" with an economic aspect of cooperation—that is to say, a "partnership for development."

I do not mean here establishing new bureaucratic structures or introducing new and special mechanisms of cooperation. But what I would like to point out is a necessity of making permanent a set of indispensable principles in international economic cooperation. Such a specific code of behavior for countries and economic organizations could include the task of counteracting the trends of isolationism; it could also cover eliminating obstacles, shaping a cooperative approach, understanding the partner's needs and, in justified cases, it could also cover a readiness to provide aid. Such a "partnership for development," broadly speaking, will contribute to increased mutual confidence and will also constitute a permanent basis for cooperation in the area of security.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Apart from NATO, the other institution of the Western world that plays an important role from the standpoint of Poland's security is the Western European Union [WEU]. We see our future membership in the WEU as a logical addition to our links to the European Union [EU]. Leading to a situation of the same legal status of Poland in both organizations is an urgent issue. We are prepared for serious dialogue within the framework of the WEU.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

A speeding up of Poland's integration into the EU is an important and urgent task for Poland. Apart from its economic and civil-related dimensions, the issue is important from the standpoint of my country's security.

That is because the most secure path toward permanent security is by way of the inclusion of Poland and other Central European states in the Western system of associations and institutions. The EU has a determinant role to play in that context. It constitutes the most dynamically developing area in our neighborhood. The shape of the EU as an organization with a political dimension, one with a common foreign policy with regard to security as well as sophisticated systems of cooperation within the area of domestic and justice-systems policies—all of these justify our efforts to join the EU for political reasons, as well.

We regard integration as an instrument of implementing Polish interests, particularly in the new era of relations initiated by Poland's association with the EC, which became effective yesterday. In our relations with the EU, we will defend our interests no less vigorously than the current EU members are defending theirs. Routine discrimination against our exports and an erosion of concessions that had been granted to us with regard to EU markets are cause for concern.

The civil dimension of our relations with the EU is about keeping Poland in the Western sphere of free exchange of thoughts, ideas, and information. It is natural behavior for a nation that derives from the same civilization roots and that constitutes an integral ingredient of European culture. Making contemporary scientific achievements, technical progress, and modern management popular in Poland is one of the aspects of this issue.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

To reduce the issue of Poland's security to mere efforts aimed at membership in Western institutions would be a major oversimplification. We perceive security issues in a wider context.

We are aware of a fundamental role played by Poland's internal stability: A persistence in building and strengthening democratic institutions, an effective market economy, and scientific and cultural achievements.

With regard to Poland, one can say that parliamentary democracy and a system based on rule of law not only established its firm roots, which go all the way back to the 3 May Constitution, which was close in spirit and in time to the U.S. Constitution, but also in the day-to-day political life of my country; the most recent parliamentary elections in Poland are proof of that. We observe human rights fully. In Poland there are no nationalistic or ethnic disputes. Poland's borders are not put into question by anybody, and they are defined by international treaties. All of the above makes us a factor for stability throughout the region.

Poland's economic situation makes it possible to be optimistic about the prospect of the growth rate; according to many forecasts, the growth rate may become one of the most dynamic in Europe. The Polish economy, while going through a process of deep transformations, is already based on its own, new, market logic, and one can count on permanent and positive results if one continues on the path.

An increase in industrial output has been holding for more than 10 months now. The private sector is already producing over 60 percent of the gross domestic product [GDP]. During the past three years, about 1.7 million new, private companies have been established. Over 80 percent of trade and automobile transportation is in private hands. Private companies are providing half of all new jobs. At the same time, inflation is under control.

We expect Polish GDP to increase by 4.5 percent and exports to increase by 6 percent in 1994; investments should increase by 6 percent in the same period. The assumption is that inflation will continue to fall and that it will be about 25 percent.

The achievement of such a magnitude of economic transformations means a lot of sacrifices, but it is also a unique achievement in European terms. These results of

ours are being perceived and appreciated by international financial institutions, among them the IMF, the World Bank, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

My government is continuing with the process of reforms based on a market economy, the principle of economic freedom, and a demonopolization of economic relations with foreign countries.

The government will also continue the process of ownership transformations, but we want privatization to be understandable to the people and to be approved of by society; we also want the state's interest to be efficiently protected.

In Poland, legal foundations for a market economic system were established. Institutions of fundamental importance for a market economy were created, even if some of them are still at the initial stages of development. The role of market mechanisms has increased, and also of such economic parameters as money, profit, demand, competition, capital market, and entrepreneurship. Along with that, Poland's economic system is already characterized by a majority of typical traits that developed market economies have, even if the process of transformations has not yet been finalized.

Opening up the Polish economy to the world is an integral part of our reforms. We are interested in establishing the right conditions for an unrestricted flow of goods, services, capital, and labor—naturally based on principles of mutuality. We see in that possibilities for further activation of the economy and a revival of competition. We see in that a chance for further strengthening the economy with foreign capital and new technologies and the organization of labor.

Walesa Receives Russian Interior Minister Yerin

LD0602164794 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1423 GMT
6 Feb 94

[Text] Wroclaw, 6 Feb—Subinspector Zbigniew Jarosz, police deputy commandant in Wroclaw Province, told a PAP journalist that President Lech Walesa, who was on vacation in Duszniki Zdroj (Walbrzych province) in the Jodla mountain troops training center, met the Russian Federation Minister of Internal Affairs, General Viktor Fedorovich Yerin, on 6 February.

Along with the Russian delegation were Minister of Internal Affairs Andrzej Milczanowski and Chief Inspector Zenon Smolarek, the chief of police.

The meeting took place in the parish administration office in Duszniki Zdroj.

Minister Yerin, who leads a delegation from the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs, arrived in Poland on 5 February on an official, working visit.

Rationale for 'Intersea Bloc' Plan Explained

PM0402141194 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in
Polish 27 Jan 94 p 3

[Interview with Leszek Moczulski, chairman of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, by correspondent Jerzy Palosz; place and date not given]

[Text] [Palosz] You are the author of the concept of the "Intersea bloc"—that is, an alliance of East European states that could constitute a counterbalance to Russia. Is that project still in the cards today, after the Russian election?

[Moczulski] Of course it is. I would not overestimate the outcome of the recent Russian election. We will probably react to the results of the forthcoming March elections in Ukraine with similarly mixed feelings. Another election is scheduled to take place in Hungary, and its outcome could also be worrying. Nevertheless, I would not overestimate the significance of these phenomena because they only represent peculiar paroxysms of the historical process. In our part of Europe, historical developments do not occur in a linear progression. To use an expression from the realm of meteorological science, you could say that they develop in a turbulent manner. In addition, accidental factors are often instrumental in bringing about significant effects.

However, all of that does not alter the fact that Russia is currently undergoing giant transformations. Immediately after Yeltsin's unfortunate solution of his quarrel with parliament, I voiced the opinion that that was the beginning of the end for Yeltsin. The results of the election seem to confirm this. The latest developments should not be seen as a solution but as an even graver complication of the existing problem. Together with the deteriorating economic situation and the increasingly difficult living conditions of the population, the election results suggest that the revolutionary processes in Russia will continue to intensify....

[Palosz] But that does not apply to Russia alone....

[Moczulski] The entire area of postcommunist East Europe and North Asia is currently the scene of great revolutionary transformations which, fortunately, have not yet assumed particularly brutal forms, except in former Yugoslavia and parts of Transcaucasia. I trust that the brutalization of the revolution will not spread to the remaining postcommunist countries, but we must be prepared, also in Poland, for the possibility of a spread of popular mass movements that will be largely spontaneous and can lead to a brutalization of the chosen methods of action. Unfortunately, such are the laws of history.

There was a chance to carry out the inevitable changes in those countries in a calm and controlled manner. However, the elites that have seized power there are on the whole not mature enough to handle the tasks that face

them, and they were unable to muster enough imagination to cope with the intricacies of the situation. Even Hungarians, who were arguably best at managing their situation, could still develop problems as a result of the unforeseen development provided by the death of Premier Antall. In Poland, four successive Solidarity governments lost the nation's support. Regardless of its intentions, the present left-wing government is not likely to be equal to the task, either, if only as a result of the disproportion between election promises and the realities of the situation.

[Palosz] From the very moment of the establishment of the Third Republic, our diplomats have consistently endeavored to tie Poland to NATO, have they not?

[Moczulski] That goal is set purely as a propaganda move, not as a realistic target. Poland's accession to NATO, if effected in a way guaranteeing us genuine security, would mean that our country would be included in the NATO military system. To date, NATO has not even managed to embrace the former GDR within that system. Even if the West was ultimately to prefer the concept that Russia must be opposed by the application of the strategy of shifting NATO eastward, we would have to wait at least 10 years before such a decision could be put into practice, and its realization would cost at least \$100 billion, if not more. On the other hand, if NATO's military structure is not shifted to the east but Poland nevertheless receives political guarantees of security, we could face a truly macabre prospect. If we were indeed to encounter an aggressive attack from the east, we would then find ourselves in the foreground of NATO operations. These would entail the use of missiles and air force units because NATO would then probably apply the tactic of the notorious "200 small thermonuclear strikes." For us, such defense would be a worse calamity than an outright defeat. Today the question of NATO's political guarantees has only political and psychological significance. It can be seen as a test for the West and a test for Russia. On the other hand, viewed as a policy that should actually be capable of ensuring our genuine security, it is entirely devoid of any rationale and has been so from the beginning.

[Palosz] So is the threat from the east greater now, after the Russian election?

[Moczulski] I do not think so. That threat arises from the constant principle present in the Russian political thought: The interest of the Empire is more important than any domestic problems. Of course, Russia is not doomed to subscribe to that principle forever. However, its ruling elites must come to realize that the goal of creating a better life for the Russian people is more important than the ambition to expand Russia's borders to reach the warm seas. The whole problem is that Russia refuses to understand this, and that is why revolutions have been erupting there roughly every 60-70 years—sometimes initiated at the top of the social scale (Aleksandr II) and sometimes at the bottom (the Bolsheviks). Will Russia eventually move in the direction of

resolving its internal problems? There are no reasons whatsoever to believe that it will. Let us remember the illusory hopes that arose after 1918, envisaging an end to Russia's imperial policies with the collapse of the system of czarism. All of that does not mean, however, that we are right now in danger of being invaded. It is true that there is a certain tendency to favor direct invasion, which can be observed in Russia's policy toward Estonia, in the Transcaucasia, and in the Crimea. Nevertheless, it still does not mean that we can expect the Kremlin to issue a decision for the Red Army to march westward. Instead, we should rather expect a tendency to "export" unrest. For example, the military formations in the region of Krolewiec [Kaliningrad], which today are still a regular, orderly army, tomorrow could well disintegrate into disorderly but still superbly armed gangs of brigands. However, there is an even graver danger facing us in the long run: that Russia will rebuild its military power and Russians will still harbor a sense of having been wronged. The sense of having been wronged is subjective; the Russian people will recall that, even in their own living memory, the frontiers of their empire extended as far as the Elbe, whereas now they stop somewhere near Smolensk. Thus, we will have the ground ready for the emergence of a phenomenon similar to the "Hitler syndrome," which could have disastrous consequences also for Russia itself.

[Palosz] So what course of action would you suggest?

[Moczulski] I suggest the idea of integrating the countries of the proposed "Intersea bloc" along the Warsaw-Kiev axis. This will provide the desirable geopolitical potential situated west of Russia, large enough to be capable of effective self-defense in economic, cultural, and military terms. The best protection against invasion is a defense wall or, to be precise, the awareness of the existence of such a wall. Having built their own Great Wall, the Chinese concluded: The wall is not there to protect us physically against invasion. It is there to remind the potential aggressors that invasion is out of the question.

Satisfaction With Ukraine's Missile Decision

LD0402142294 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 4 Feb 94

[Text] Our Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ] has received with satisfaction the approval by the Ukrainian parliament of the Lisbon Protocol, which provides, among other things, for disarming nuclear missiles stationed in that country. Wladyslaw Klaczynski, head of the MSZ press office, told us about a statement on the matter.

[Begin Klaczynski recording] The ministry stresses that this is a significant step toward consolidation of world and European security. This step will undoubtedly open wider possibilities for comprehensive cooperation of the Ukraine with the entire Western world.

For us, for Poland, this is an indispensable factor for stabilization in the region. We would like to express

hope, and the ministry expresses such hope that the speedy implementation of the right and very important decision will take place.

Daily on Relations With Lithuania, Treaty Talks

WS0402134894 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Feb 94 p 23

[Commentary by Maja Narbutt in Vilnius: "The Devil Is in the Details"]

[Text] Poland and Lithuania have for a long time now been jointly declaring their desire to sign a treaty. For many months, in fact on the occasion of every official visit, it has been stressed that a treaty will be signed before long. Smiling politicians, posing for pictures together, claim that agreement has already been reached and that only a few details need to be discussed. However, as the wise French saying goes, the devil is in the details. Most probably it was this devil who is to blame for the fact that the treaty has not yet been signed.

Of course, during the talks in Vilnius between President Walesa's envoy and [Lithuanian President] Algirdas Brazauskas, details were not discussed because presidents or their envoys do not usually discuss such matters. Therefore, whether this treaty will really be signed will be decided in the fifth round of formal negotiations.

The laconic statements of politicians on Thursday [3 February] seem to suggest, however, that a major step forward has been made. Both sides probably agreed on a compromise—Poland because it agreed that the evaluation of the past will be included not in a separate declaration but in the treaty's preamble, and Lithuania because it probably worded this evaluation of the past in such a way as to make it acceptable for us. The final statements concerning the evaluation of history are very important, not only for moral but also for pragmatic reasons. The evaluation of Polish-Lithuanian relations during the 20 years after World War I affects the present regulations concerning ownership issues of Poles living in the Vilnius region.

It is still an open question whether a compromise reached by politicians will be generally accepted—first of all in Lithuania. Andrzej Zakrzewski is not entirely right when he speaks about "political folklore" in the context of Lithuanian accusations concerning the "Polish invasion of the Vilnius region." Such terms are used not only by Lithuanian informal groupings and organizations, such as the notoriously anti-Polish Vilnija, but also by political elites. No matter what, we cannot say that the parliamentary opposition headed by Vytautas Landsbergis is political folklore. Therefore, it will not be until another three weeks have passed that we will be able to say whether a breakthrough has been achieved in relations between Vilnius and Warsaw.

KPN Moves for Deputy Prime Minister's Dismissal

LD0402144694 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1200 GMT 4 Feb 94

[Text] The Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] has moved for the dismissal of Marek Borowski, deputy prime minister and finance minister. At the same time, the KPN has decided to ask the prosecutor general to investigate the case of privatization of the Bank Slaski [Silesian Bank], in the context of losses suffered by the state budget as the result of the operation.

Deputy Prime Minister Borowski Tenders Resignation

LD0402172994 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Feb 94

[Text] Marek Borowski, deputy prime minister and minister of finance, has tendered his resignation from the post he holds. This ensued after the prime minister did not accept the proposal of the deputy prime minister regarding, above all, a clear outline of the division of prerogatives within the government.

Marek Borowski, justifying his decision, said that the so-called Deputy Finance Stefan Kawalec affair ought to be seen in a wider context, which is made up of many statements by the prime minister. In the view of Marek Borowski, they undermine his activity as deputy prime minister. Marek Borowski viewed the statements of the prime minister as a particular vote of no confidence.

We still do not know if Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak has accepted Marek Borowski's resignation.

Borowski Comments on Events

LD0402202194 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1830 GMT 4 Feb 94

[Text] [Announcer Grazyna Bukowska] We have a guest in our studio, Marek Borowski, deputy prime minister and finance minister. Has Prime Minister Pawlak accepted your resignation?

[Borowski] Good evening, madam, good evening ladies and gentlemen. Well, this I do not know. I formally handed in my resignation; whether he accepted it, I don't know. Judging from the announcements, probably not yet.

[Bukowska] Is it possible that you could withdraw this resignation, and, if so, on what conditions? To put it more simply: Does the list of conditions you have already set have to be met from beginning to end, or is there any room for compromise?

[Borowski] I would like to say that this list of conditions, if that is what one can call them, is more in the form of proposals for a clear division of remits within the government, proposals of a demarcation of responsibilities, and proposals that envisage the fact that it is ministers

who are responsible for what happens in their ministries, that one cannot go over their heads and dismiss individual officials. These proposals were already a compromise, and I personally believe it would be difficult to cross anything off that list. Anyway, to my mind, they are not in any way insulting to the prime minister; they are quite acceptable.

[Bukowska] Is this a conflict between your and Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, or is it a conflict on the SLD-PSL [Democratic Left Alliance-Polish Peasant Party] axis?

[Borowski] I would be the last to want to fan a large-scale conflict. I would very much not want this to happen. But I said at the conference, and it was even quoted here: This is not an isolated case; this is not a matter of the person of the dismissed deputy minister; this is a matter of principle, a matter of loyalty in our cooperation. As I have already said, one can hold various posts, but one can only save one's face. And, in this sense, one could say that this is a conflict between the prime minister and me. But, taking into account the matters of remits of which I spoke, the conflict is of a much broader nature.

[Bukowska] In your opinion, does the coalition have a chance of surviving this crisis?

[Borowski] I would like to believe so, if I am to be honest. Anyway, I have already said this at a news conference: There are no irreplaceable people. I think a different solution could be found.

[Bukowska] You also said during your news conference that you and the prime minister have different viewpoints regarding the economy. Was it really thus? How did this manifest itself?

[Borowski] I must say that this is not perhaps so very strange. It would be difficult for the SLD and the PSL to have identical viewpoints on the economy. It is well known that there are differences. There were also differences between the prime minister and me. But the way of agreeing stands was not good. That is, it just did not exist. In other words, the statements of various ministers, sometimes even unfortunately those of the prime minister himself, diverged from the agreed line.

[Bukowska] Were these differences so weighty, so significant, that it was impossible to come to any understanding? What were the most important ones?

[Borowski] Well, that is just it. We sought agreement and, with Chairman Kwasniewski, we found...[pauses] I must say that Chairman Kwasniewski showed great energy in this case and great initiative in order to bring about such agreement.

[Bukowska] I am sorry, Mr. Deputy Prime Minister, but you have not answered my question. I was asking about differences in matters of the economy.

[Borowski] Well you see, madam, this is the sort of question that, should I begin to give answers to, I could

basically spoil what lies before us, and it is not my intention to raise the temperature in this situation. We have to discuss these differences calmly among ourselves.

[Bukowska] Finally, one more question. Are these really two parties that merely govern together, or is it really a coalition?

[Borowski] Well, certain problems do come about, as do various difficulties. This is one of them. Chairman Kwasniewski said, I think yesterday, that there is no real alternative to this coalition in the Sejm, and I think that, to a great extent, he is right. There is, after all, a certain closeness between the PSL and the SLD. I personally have a great deal of liking for the PSL deputies, and I believe that this coalition should find a way out of this situation.

[Bukowska] Thank you very much for the interview. The guest was Marek Borowski.

Conflict Could Cause Coalition Split

LD0402232994 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network
in Polish 2200 GMT 4 Feb 94

[Text] [Announcer] After a meeting with ministers from the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], the Sejm speaker, Jozef Oleksy, declared that he did not exclude a breakup of the coalition.

Monika Olejnik has just returned from the Sejm:

[Olejnik] Certain ministers who took part in this discussion are also of the opinion that a breakup of the coalition is possible. The majority of them say that Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak will accept Marek Borowski's resignation. Some say that, despite everything, the coalition will survive. Aleksander Kwasniewski told journalists that there was already a new name, but he said this half in jest, half seriously. However, quite seriously, Marek Borowski said:

[Begin recording] [Borowski] I will certainly not gather up my belongings and will not go home because there are tasks to be fulfilled.

[Olejnik] Does the Parliamentary Floor Group bear you a grudge for resigning, or does it accept your arguments?

[Borowski] I think it accepts them. The group that debated [the situation] agreed that these were conditions that could be accepted.

[Olejnik] Mr. [Deputy] Prime Minister, do you not think it egoistic? You are resigning; this is a threat to the SLD coalition with the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]. Do you not exclude the possibility that this could be a threat?

[Borowski] If certain trends are developing the wrong way, there remains only the question of when one should do it [as heard]—whether to wait until it becomes difficult to patch up anything or whether to do it earlier.

I came to the conclusion that earlier is better. There may have been those who thought it would have been better to wait. [end recording]

[Olejniki] Marek Borowski told journalists that the conditions set by the SLD were the conditions of all of the ministers who belong to the SLD. The SLD was waiting all the time for a telephone call from Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak. It is not known whether this will happen tomorrow, the day after, or the day after that.

Kwasniewski Discusses Conflict

WS0402151694 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
4 Feb 94 p 2

[Article by Jan Bazyli Lipszyc: "Aleksander Kwasniewski's Conference; This Is Not a Problem of Kawalec"]

[Text] The Thursday [3 February] meeting with Aleksander Kwasniewski has attracted the greatest number of journalists (and deputies) in many months. The leader of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] said that the problem does not mainly concern all personnel issues, but the understanding of the government's activities, the method of administering the country, and discussion over the concept of the economy. "It is serious," admitted Kwasniewski and indirectly confirmed that Marek Borowski discussed the possibility of handing in his resignation ("he is an obstinate man"). However, he was of the opinion that he would be able to get everything cleared up during his "meeting of three" with Waldemar Pawlak and Marek Borowski, scheduled for Thursday [3 February] evening.

"The entire affair is unfortunate, and it was done in the wrong manner, but today conclusions must be drawn from it," said the SLD leader. "It is not a problem of resignation, which only expedited the difficult talks within the coalition, but a problem of the continuation of the economic policy, which is put under question by statements such as those made by Minister Podkanski on the agreement with General Motors." Kwasniewski refused to answer the question of what he would do if he did not manage to reach agreement. He merely added that Borowski is a very competent and valuable politician and that the main problem of the coalition should be the budget (which should take the economic realities into account) and not disputes over the cadres. Asked about the resignation of Under Secretary Miroslaw Stec from the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM], he said that the SLD expects URM to submit a concept for the state administration and that this will also be discussed in the talks with the prime minister.

"It is a difficult coalition, and I have never concealed this; however, there is no alternative to it. Therefore, we must act in such a way as to allow the government to act efficiently," said Aleksander Kwasniewski.

Deputies of the Polish Peasant Party (such as Tadeusz Sytek and Piotr Chojnacki) believe that the prime minister did what he should have done and that he does not have to explain his decision to anyone. Jerzy Pistelok told us that this issue is not of very great importance; it had been discussed in the Presidium of the government before, and Minister Borowski should have demanded that resignation himself. Because he did not do this, the prime minister had the right to recall the deputy minister because he had made too many mistakes. "We are absolutely sure that the prime minister's decision was correct, and so are many colleagues in the SLD," said Pistelok.

Jozef Oleksy and Aleksander Kwasniewski denied that there were such discussions because this issue was not important enough to discuss in the coalition.

"I believe that Prime Minister Pawlak feels good when he makes cadre changes," we learned from former Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, of the Democratic Union [UD]. "He probably thinks that this is how his power is expressed. The prime minister may recall a deputy minister without the consent of the minister, but only when he asks that the deputy minister be recalled and the minister does not want to do that. This coalition has the will to survive, and this is why it will not present the PSL with the bill."

"The SLD will not present the bill to the PSL for fear of the coalition's integrity; however, it will show that something important has happened," says UD's Grazyna Staniszevska. "The reason the prime minister has acted this way is that the PSL has an SLD complex; another reason was the pressure on Waldemar Pawlak, exerted at various levels, to prepare posts for people who are already waiting for them."

"This is a family quarrel, and we will not meddle in it," said Wojciech Borowik, of Union of Labor. "If a bill is presented, it will not be very large because both parties want the coalition to survive."

Kwasniewski Blames Prime Minister

LD0502170894 Warsaw TVP Television Second
Program Network in Polish 1500 GMT 5 Feb 94

[Text] Prime Minister [Waldemar] Pawlak is breaking the coalition agreement, said Aleksander Kwasniewski in his opening speech at the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] Main Council session. The Main Council is discussing the situation that has arisen in Poland after yesterday's resignation of Marek Borowski, the [deputy prime minister] and finance minister.

[Unidentified correspondent] Kwasniewski added that the SdRP wanted to implement the joint economic program that was agreed upon with the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]. The Left is waiting for a similar declaration on behalf of the Peasant Party members. In Kwasniewski's opinion, some of the prime minister's

actions and those of members from his entourage allow one to think that the desire to retain the coalition is uneven.

[Begin Kwasniewski recording] A lack of respect for coalition decisions, making decisions without the knowledge of the appropriate ministers, statements that are far from our jointly implemented economic and political concept, all these are pointers that make one want to ask out loud: What is going on? [end recording]

[Correspondent] In their speeches, members of the council complained that the government lacked a cadre policy: State officials are being replaced by party colleagues of the Peasant Party. Of the eight SLD governors who have recently taken up their posts, only one is a member of the SdRP; the remainder are specialists, said Kwasniewski.

Kwasniewski, Szmajdzinski on Conflict

WS0702152294 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
7 Feb 94 pp 1-2

[Article by E.K.: "Aleksander Kwasniewski on the Functioning of the Coalition; Pawlak Breaks the Agreement"]

[Text] For the first time, the Chief Council [RN] of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] closed its session to journalists. On Saturday, 5 February, its members discussed the political situation that developed as a result of the government crisis and the resignation submitted by Marek Borowski, deputy prime minister and minister of finance.

Snatches of statements by Aleksander Kwasniewski, Marek Borowski, and council members, which we were able to overhear near the door, suggested that the participants expressed severe criticism of the cadre, information, economic, and financial policy of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]; they also seemed to be pointing to a lack of cooperation within the coalition. Talks between both coalition parties will probably be held on Monday [7 February].

Aleksander Kwasniewski officially confirmed that Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak is obviously breaching the provisions of the coalition agreement. Three of its four provisions are being implemented as the PSL partners wish.

"We will not tolerate this state of affairs any longer," said Kwasniewski. According to him, the governing coalition will not break up if the intentions of both sides are clear, if both sides are willing to communicate with each other and implement a jointly agreed economic program.

"We have expressed such an intention, and we maintain it; we would like a similar declaration on the part of the PSL so that we will know whether they want the coalition to remain as much as we do. Some activities lead us to

believe that the determination to maintain it is different," said Kwasniewski, referring to the present conflict and to earlier disputes between the coalition partners.

Despite these accusations, the SdRP chairman conceded that the discussion is characterized by a desire to reach an agreement within the coalition. Kwasniewski described Marek Borowski as the best person for the role of the finance minister now and a man responsible for the economy.

When SdRP General Secretary Jerzy Szmajdzinski was presenting the conclusions of the almost five-hour discussion of the authorities of his party, he was much more cautious in choosing his words: "The SdRP decided that there is no need to escalate this conflict. The existing problems can be resolved among the members of the presidiums of both parties. It is desirable that both parties take a more precise joint stance on the issues of the economy, the budget, privatization, information policy, the government, and the method of conducting the cadre policy.

He also admitted that there is no need to sign a new coalition agreement; however, as a result of the fact that it has not been kept, it is necessary to review the coalition's activities after 100 days of governing and to explain all doubts.

He said that it was with sorrow that the RN of the SdRP received the resignation of Marek Borowski; he added, however, that the deputy prime minister is not the only candidate of the SdRP for this post. Nevertheless, each person who comes after him will be in a more difficult situation.

"We do not want to die for anyone. We want Marek Borowski to be used in the further activities of the coalition, of the government. Everything is still possible."

As they finished their session, the SdRP leaders expressed the hope that they would be able to meet with the prime minister as early as last weekend, all the more so because, during his morning talk with Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy, he is reported to have said that he wants to ease the conflict. However, he will first have a talk with the PSL leadership.

"These will be talks that will explain everything to us," said Szmajdzinski.

Pact on Liberalizing Trade in Central Europe

LD0402222394 Warsaw TVP Television First Program
Network in Polish 1830 GMT 4 Feb 94

[Report by announcer Grazyna Bukowska; relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[Excerpt] Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary signed a declaration in Prague agreeing in principle to a full liberalization of trade within the next five years. This way the agreement on the Central

European Free Trade Zone, soon to be called the Central European Free Trade Area [CEFTA], will come into force on 1 January 1998, three years earlier than planned. [passage omitted]

Slovak Diplomat on Trade Prospects

PM0302122394 Krakow CZAS KRAKOWSKI in Polish
26 Jan 94 p 7

[Interview with Jozef Belcak, economic and commercial counselor at the Slovak Embassy in Warsaw, by correspondent Jan Bereza; place and date not given]

[Text] [Bereza] What changes took place in Polish-Slovak trade relations after the creation of an independent Slovak Republic?

[Becak] In past years our cooperation was conducted within the framework of the CEMA bloc. The decline in foreign trade turnover during the period of transformation of a centrally steered economy into a free market system is a phenomenon that is not exclusive to our countries. It is found throughout Central and Eastern Europe as a consequence of developments that extended far beyond the creation of two independent states: the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The value of trade exchange between Poland and Slovakia fell from \$397 million in 1991 to less than \$228 million in 1992. In the first quarter of 1993 the value of exports from Slovakia to Poland was \$23 million, while that of imports from Poland to Slovakia was \$15.4 million. The current state of affairs in this field was the subject of talks between our respective deputy premiers in July last year. During the current visit [to Poland by Slovak President Kovac] we aim to attach much importance to economic questions. This is evidenced, among other things, by the personal composition of the Slovak delegation, which includes the chairman of the Slovak Industry and Commerce Chamber, the Minister of the Economy, and representatives of 11 individual companies. The schedule of the visit includes a meeting between President Michal Kovac and Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, chairperson of the Polish National Bank. President Kovac will also meet with Polish businessmen, while yet another meeting at the Ministry of Industry and Commerce will be attended by ministers-heads of the following departments: Foreign Economic Cooperation, Transport and Maritime Economy, and the Central Planning Office.

[Bereza] What are the reasons responsible for the poor condition of Polish-Slovak economic cooperation to date?

[Becak] I believe that the main reason is the lack of efficient exchange of information concerning our respective cooperation potential. We often import goods from distant places which we could easily be buying from one another—and that would involve lower transportation costs. We should not forget, either, that in certain parts of both Poland and Slovakia it is much easier to transport goods from across the Carpathian mountains than to carry them in from the more distant parts of our own

respective countries. We share a very long stretch of state border—altogether 520 km—but there are only three border crossings along its entire length that have been adapted to cargo transportation. We should be offered more favorable terms of mutual trade exchange within the framework of the Visegrad Group and the GATT agreement. The present terms of our mutual trade exchange cannot possibly be viewed as satisfactory by either side. I hope that the trade turnover between Poland and Slovakia will double its value within the next two to three years.

[Bereza] How does Slovakia encourage potential foreign investors to invest their capital within its borders?

[Becak] We offer a variety of incentives and preferential terms to foreign investors because we need their capital to make good use of our existing industrial enterprises and our highly trained professional cadres. To give you an example, in the parish of Banska Bystrica a bank with an input of foreign capital is entitled to a longer tax holiday than banks in other regions of the country. These matters are regulated centrally by means of parliamentary acts. For the time being, according to data for the first half of 1993, the value of foreign capital invested in Slovakia came to \$320.4 million. The highest share in that amount is represented by Austrian investors (25.8 percent); these are followed by Germans (18.2 percent), Americans (14.5 percent), Czechs (12 percent), and French (upward of 9 percent).

[Bereza] What can be done to enable Poles to join that group of leading investors? Following the announcement that interest rates will be raised in Poland, some businessmen are beginning to consider moving their companies to your country.

[Becak] There is extensive unused potential in many areas of our economy: not only in industry but also in agriculture and the food economy. Work is currently in progress on setting up a joint Polish-Slovak chamber of industry and commerce, to be situated in Krakow, a city close to the Slovak border and also easily reached from other regions of Poland. Dynamic involvement on the part of specific enterprises is essential if we are to develop effective cooperation between corresponding economic entities in both countries. We see much evidence of individual companies' interest in such cooperation as we answer some 20-30 telephone requests for information on the subject every day.

Arms Industry Strikes Over Salaries Continue

WS0402150694 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
4 Feb 94 p 2

[Article by B.I.W.: "Arms Industry, Protest Getting More Radical"]

[Text] All factories of the defense industry took part in a protest organized by the Interunion Strike Committee on 3 February. The eight-hour strike took place in 19 factories; the remaining 12 only put up flags, organized rallies,

or had two to four hours of strike. The committee has announced that, if the government does not change its position, it will make the protest more radical. The government's view is that it did all it could, taking into account the budget situation, and that the strike "is proof of a lack of responsibility."

Negotiations between the Interunion Strike Committee (which includes the National Section of the Arms Industry of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity," the Trade Union of the Electromachine Industry, and the "Metalworkers" Federation) and the government on 1 February did not result in an agreement. The trade unions are demanding, among other things, additional resources for restructurings, establishing the level of government orders to be such that it would guarantee maintaining the country's defense readiness (about 5.5 trillion zlotys), compensation in return for sustaining production readiness in case

of war in 1990-93, salary increases that would compensate for price increases, and also securing preretirement pension benefits. "We are a country of hunger and neglect"—this is the way Stanislaw Glowacki, chief of the arms industry branch of "Solidarity," commented on the situation in the sector.

The Industry and Trade Ministry said that, during the talks, the government "presented realistic budget and legal possibilities of implementing the postulates; it presented positive effects of the industry's restructuring. The government also showed that there are possibilities of increasing budget means for 1994 for the arms industry." The ministry also added that the trade unions "rejected an offer to sign a protocol of agreement and failed to come up with alternative possibilities of solving the problem, limiting themselves to revindication." The ministry said "forcing changes in the budget by means of strikes" is the kind of behavior that "indicates a lack of responsibility."

Iliescu 'Shocked' at Sarajevo Attack

AU0602144894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Text] A statement by Romania's president, Ion Iliescu, in connection with yesterday's attack in Sarajevo has been faxed to our editorial office. Here is the entire text of this statement:

I was shocked and indignant at the news of this new irresponsible attack against the city of Sarajevo, which claimed a great number of victims among the civilian population who lack the protection of the city. We deplore the loss of human lives and want to express our profound condolences to the mourning families. We very firmly condemn this new barbarian act of terrorism and express the hope that those who have committed it will be identified and receive the punishment they deserve. The attack in Sarajevo does nothing but emphasize, in a dramatic way, the fact that resorting to force of arms prolongs human suffering, without solving problems, and it emphasizes the urgency for the necessity of a peace settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina—an objective to which all diplomatic efforts should now be devoted, the statement by Romania's president concludes.

Party Leaders Condemn Attack

AU0602195394 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Romania's President Ion Iliescu has issued a statement in connection with yesterday's attack in Sarajevo. [passage omitted]

In press statements, other figures of Romania's political scene have also reacted to the attack in Sarajevo. Thus, the president of the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front), [PD-FSN] Petre Roman, emphasized that, when it comes to human lives, no effort is too great to save them and nothing can be viewed as too insignificant when these human lives disappear. The time has definitely come for the international community and what is termed will for peace to finally adopt radical measures based on the law, on the right to life.

Ion Diaconescu, vice president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, [PNTCD] emphasized in his statement that it is crazy to kill innocent people and that what happened in Sarajevo compels world powers to do all they can to halt this tragedy.

The president of the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania [PDAR], Victor Surdu, stressed that the long-standing tragedy that is taking place not far from Romania's borders concerns and worries us. The numerous victims in Sarajevo's history testify to the illogical and absurd nature of this conflict. The time has come for international organizations to manifest greater determination and urge the adoption of solutions, which will put a halt to this tragedy.

Mrs. Ana Blandiana, Civic Alliance president, pointed out in her statement that the tragedy in Sarajevo has the same roots and is linked to the tragedy in Tiraspol and Chisinau, and to all the suffering in the periphery of the former Soviet empire in which the conservative forces are striving to reestablish their domination, regardless of the costs. What is terrible, however, Mrs. Blandiana emphasized, is the fact that everything is also linked to a general indifference—from the indifference of the great powers to that of individuals in general.

Liberal Party Begins Extraordinary Congress

AU0502170094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 5 Feb 94

[Text] The proceedings of the extraordinary congress of the National Liberal Party [PNL], which was convened by the initiative committee for organizing the congress, began at the National History Museum Hall this morning.

The congress is being attended by 475 delegates representing 34 counties, all the organizations of the Bucharest Municipality and Ilfov agricultural sector, by representatives of certain political formations, cultural and socioeconomic figures not involved in political activity, and journalists.

The congress proceedings, presided over by Petre Dragomir, member of the initiative committee, began with the presentation of the political report, which specifies that the aim of this congress is to relaunch a political project of regenerating national liberalism and to elect a leadership made up of competent people characterized by genuine political legitimacy.

Greeting messages were presented at the congress by representatives of the Liberal Party '93, the Ecological Movement of Romania, the Romanian Humanist Party, and the Republican Party.

At this time, the congress proceedings continue with discussions on the political report.

Campeanu Elected President

AU0502195494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 5 Feb 94

[Text] The proceedings of the extraordinary congress of the National Liberal Party [PNL], convened in Bucharest by the initiative committee for the organization of the congress, continued this afternoon with the presentation of the report of the commission for the amendment of by-laws and voting on the proposals. The new bylaws adopted by the majority stipulate that the party be led by a president elected by the congress and a National Council consisting of 41 members, 21 of whom must be elected by the congress, and the remaining 20 to be appointed by the party president from among the chiefs of departments and counselors and submitted to

the Permanent Delegation for endorsement. The representatives of county organizations and Bucharest Municipality proposed a single candidate for the position of president, namely Radu Campeanu, who was elected with a majority of votes. At this time, the congress proceedings are continuing with the presentation and submitting of candidates for positions within the party's component bodies, our reporter Iulia Gherman informed us.

PNL Congress Concludes

AU0602202894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Text] The proceedings of the extraordinary congress of the National Liberal Party [PNL] ended this morning. It had been convened by the initiative committee for the organization of the congress. During the two-day proceedings, the congress established the new by-laws, elected the new party president and leadership members, and discussed and endorsed the Program and Political Declaration of the National Liberal Party. The Political Declaration presented by Petre Dragomir declares, quote: We are now able to address the country and we want to participate, through our work and the values that liberalism promotes in society, in the development and modernization of our society, unquote.

At the end of the congress proceedings, Radu Campeanu, elected by the congress as president of the PNL, said that following this congress, the members of the leadership bodies who recognize Mircea Ionescu-Quintus as president of the party became mere party members. We do not exclude anyone, we do not wage war with anyone, but we believe that we have to conduct talks, to invite everyone to participate in a dialogue, Radu Campeanu concluded. We recall that at the Brasov meeting, the Central Standing Bureau of the PNL termed the congress in Bucharest, quote: A meeting of Mr. Campeanu's supporters.

PDSR Head Gherman Invites Opposition To New Talks

AU0402201294 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 4 Feb 94

[Text] A short while ago we received via fax a copy of the following open letter addressed today by the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] to the chairmen of the PNTCD [National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party], PD-FSN [Democratic Party-National Salvation Front], UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], PL '93 [Liberal Party '93], PAC [Civic Alliance Party], and PSDR [Romanian Social-Democratic Party]:

Being aware of the virtues of dialogue, I reiterate the readiness of the Social Democracy Party of Romania, which I also expressed in a letter I sent to you at the beginning of last year, to initiate general discussions among our parties. Hoping that you also agree to that

idea, we are expecting your suggestions regarding the date, agenda, and the representation level of the delegations that would engage in those discussions. Please accept my high esteem.

The letter is signed by PDSR Chairman Oliviu Gherman.

Funar To Continue Talks

AU0402190894 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 2 Feb 94 p 3

[Mediafax note: "Oliviu Gherman Persuaded Gheorghe Funar"]

[Text] Last Monday [31 January] the Standing Bureau of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] held a session which lasted late into the night, until 0300 hours. PUNR President Gheorghe Funar called for withdrawing the parliamentary support granted to the current government, while vice president Ioan Gavra pleaded for the maintenance of the current coalition and for further participation in the negotiations with the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR], alongside of the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM], the Greater Romania Party [PRM], and the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania [PDAR]. Ioan Gavra's proposal did not obtain the vote of the PUNR leadership; consequently, the final decision was to withdraw the parliamentary support for the PDSR. During the proceedings, Gheorghe Funar received a message from the PDSR inviting him to a discussion with Oliviu Gherman, president of the ruling party, the following day [1 February]. Parliamentary sources told us that Oliviu Gherman managed to "persuade" Gheorghe Funar and the other members of the PUNR Standing Bureau to accept the continuation of the negotiations. The only condition raised by the PUNR was that the PDSR and the other parties of the majority coalition should accept the government protocol adopted at Cluj. In the end, it was decided that the protocol should be the subject of the PDSR-PUNR-PRM-PSM-PDAR talks that will conclude on 1 March.

Vacaroiu, NATO's von Moltke Discuss Cooperation

AU0302154394 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 3 Feb 94

[Text] Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu met with the NATO under secretary for political affairs, Mr. Gebhardt von Moltke, at Victoria Palace today.

After the end of the talks, a brief news conference was held within the framework of which Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu emphasized the importance of this event for Romania, which represents the second stage of the Partnership for Peace, namely the preparation of the presentation document.

In his turn, the guest expressed satisfaction with the warm reception given him, with cooperation with

Romania, and with the stage of preparations, which Romania is making to ensure better cooperation with NATO.

King Mihai Wishes To Visit Next Spring

AU0402200294 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 2 Feb 94 p 3

[Note by Andrei Badin: "His Majesty King Mihai I Wishes To Come to His Homeland for Easter or for 10 May"]

[Text] "His Majesty King Mihai I of Romania wishes to come to his native country for the Holy Easter celebrations or for 10 May [the king's birthday and formerly Romania's national day], more probably for 10 May," Mr. Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], the most important opposition party, exclusively told us last night. Mr. Coposu was received in audience by His Majesty King Mihai on 1 February, between 1000-1730 hours. Their meeting will continue today.

It is likely that his majesty the king will entrust Mr. Corneliu Coposu with a message for the Romanian leadership. The PNTCD president told us that he will not convey that message to President Ion Iliescu, but only to Messrs. Melescanu [Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu] and Danescu [Interior Minister George Ioan Danescu]. The reason why Mr. Coposu does not want to discuss the matter with Mr. Iliescu is that the latter has made false statements last December in connection with the king's envisaged visit.

The essence of the king's message, Mr. Coposu said, is that he comes as a simple citizen. "The king is not coming in order to organize strikes or revolutions. He will come as Romania's sovereign, when the majority of the Romanian people calls upon him," Mr. Corneliu Coposu told us.

UDMR Deputy Claims Home Looted, Ransacked

AU0502200494 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 2 Feb 94 p 9

[Report by Ana Maria Vintan: "The Home of Sandor Konya-Hamar, Secretary of the Chamber of Deputies, Has Been Ransacked"]

[Text] On Friday, 29 January, between 1200 and 1600, the Cluj apartment of the secretary of the chamber of deputies, [and Cluj deputy on behalf of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania—UDMR, Sandor] Konya-Hamar was looted and ransacked in a rather unusual way. The way in which the thieves operated and the nature of the objects stolen made the UDMR deputy draw the conclusion that it was "a perfectly organized action of intimidation." From among the valuable things that would have sold well, the thieves selected only a few pieces of jewelry, although they could have also stolen a fur coat, a large golden watch, a number of other valuable things, as well as brand new audio and video equipment. However, they did bother to steal a great number of documents and audio and video tapes belonging to Mr. Konya-Hamar, the contents of which was related to events in his political and parliamentary life. For instance, they stole the parliamentary diary he wrote over 1992-93, as well as recordings of a number of discussions held by Mr. Konya Hamar with various personalities, among whom figure Vaclav Havel and [former Romanian minister for culture and opposition figure] Andrei Plesu.

The secretary of the chamber of deputies has been receiving threatening phone calls recently, and although he notified the telephone company requesting that they monitor the incoming calls, he has not received any concrete answers.

As the violation of the apartment has been reported to the police, the latter—considering that Konya-Hamar is a member of parliament—should notify the State Attorney's Office, the Ministry of Interior, and the Chamber of Deputies. However, no official report on the incident was sent to Chamber of Deputies Speaker Adrian Nastase by Monday [31 January] at 1600.

Shelling of Sarajevo Market Kills Dozens

Serb Officer Demands Investigation

LD0502173394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1624 GMT 5 Feb 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—In response to the massacre in the center of Sarajevo, Major General Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of general staff of the republic of Srpska army, demanded that General Rose, UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] commander for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, urgently form a mixed team of military experts to [passage indistinct due to technical failure] Gen. Milovanovic asked Gen. Rose to include representatives of UNPROFOR, the republic of Srpska army, and the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina army on the commission of experts. The commission should investigate ballistic and other circumstances under which the massacre occurred to establish which side committed the crime.

Gen. Milovanovic requested of Gen. Rose that the commission's work be recorded on TV cameras and in photographs and documented with all other necessary facts and data and that the world public be informed about it. If the Serbian side's request is not accepted, the main headquarters of the republic of Srpska army will suspend all cooperation with UNPROFOR and humanitarian organizations until the case is completely clarified and the world public informed about it, the chief of general staff of the republic of Srpska army stressed in a letter to Gen. Rose. He asked Gen. Rose to answer his letter by 1800 hours today.

Izetbegovic, Silajdzic News Conference

LD0502174194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1503 GMT 5 Feb 94

[Extraordinary news conference given by Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic and Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Sarajevo on 5 February, with questions by unidentified correspondents—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] We are now going to broadcast a recording of the extraordinary news conference given by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency. Senada Cemurovic reports.

[Cemurovic] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, addressed a large number of domestic and foreign journalists. Several tens were killed and an enormous number injured, although the final toll is not yet known, by a Chetnik shell that landed at about 1230 on Sarajevo's busiest market, Markale. The Presidency has already held an extraordinary session. The Executive Committee of the city of Sarajevo, which also met, decided to declare 6 February as a day of mourning.

[Unidentified correspondent] Ladies and gentlemen, according to the latest report of the Bosnia-Herzegovina press agency 49 people were killed and 140 wounded killed by a 120-mm mortar shell fired from the direction of either

Mrkovici or Poljine. The mortar shell was recently made and had not been painted yet. That is one report.

As you may already know President Izetbegovic has ordered our state delegation to withdraw from the negotiations at Sarajevo airport in the light of what has happened. I would now like to ask President Izetbegovic to comment on this crime.

[Izetbegovic] First of all, my deepest condolences to the families of the victims. This is a black and horrible day for the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have decided to withdraw from the talks at the airport. We have decided to hold an emergency session of the Presidency, a joint session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and government, to examine the justification of our presence at further talks in Geneva. We are preparing a very brief letter to 30 or 40 statesmen of these countries to inform them of what [happened] in Sarajevo today. It will be a brief letter in which we will say that we feel as if we have been condemned to death. We will demand that the right to defend ourselves—that was taken away from us—be granted back. We will let them know that all those who are depriving us of this natural right to self-defense—contained in Article 41 of the UN Charter—will be considered as accomplices in this crime. Prime Minister Silajdzic and I are now at your disposal to answer your questions.

[Correspondent] I would like to ask Prime Minister Silajdzic—who was at the airport at the time with representatives of the Serb aggressor side—how that side reacted to the largest massacre in Sarajevo so far.

[Silajdzic] As always, they have rejected any responsibility for this attack in Sarajevo.

[Izetbegovic] I should add here that I saw an UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] document today that unambiguously confirms that the shell that killed those people—two children among them, if you recall—in Dobrinja yesterday, had been fired from Serb positions. This was a classified report to their superiors.

[Correspondent] What do you expect from UNPROFOR as a result of this?

[Izetbegovic] We do not need confirmation as to where the shell had come from but nevertheless, they will investigate into this. We want them to tell the world about what happened today, to present their view to the world.

It has become common practice for the Serbs to claim, whenever a heinous crime like this is committed, that we are killing ourselves—[Nikola] Koljevic, [republic of Srpska vice president] said this about Dobrinja. If I get killed some day they will claim it was a suicide.

[Izetbegovic's spokeswoman] We are receiving information from moment to moment. The figure we gave you—49 dead—is unfortunately, not final. However, it was confirmed that the mortar shell came from Mrkovici.

[Correspondent] Do you think there is any special significance in the fact that these two incidents happened in two successive days in the week before the beginning of the Geneva talks?

[Izetbegovic] We are wondering whether they wish to goad us into making the wrong move. The first emotional response would be to refuse to take part in any negotiations. However, I believe we will not make such a wrong move, we will most probably go to the talks. Of course, the final decision will be made at the joint government and Presidency session, but I believe we should keep a cool head and think rationally about what we should do next.

[Correspondent] When will this joint session take place?

[Izetbegovic] At 1800 today. Are there any more questions? Thank you.

Serbs Deny Responsibility

LD0502193294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1809 GMT 5 Feb 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—"I categorically state that not a single shell was fired today from the Serbian positions on the Sarajevo battlefield," Major General Milan Gvero, deputy commander of the main headquarters of the republic of Srpska army, said at a news conference this evening. At the news conference held in the republic of Srpska presidency and also attended by Nikola Koljevic, the vice president [of the republic of Srpska], and Momcilo Krajisnik, the president of the [republic of Srpska] people's assembly, in response to today's massacre at the market in the center of Sarajevo, Gvero stated certain facts that cause suspicion that the entire massacre was staged.

On the basis of film material recorded at the market, Gen. Gvero said it is obvious that there a lot of injuries to legs and lower parts of the body. It is incredible that market stools, and even bottles and eggs on sale, remained undamaged, as the film material confirms. Those, and some other facts, point to the possibility that this was a planted explosive device, Gvero said.

Assembly President Momcilo Krajisnik said that today's massacre was a "blow to the attempt to establish peace in this area." We heard the news during a meeting with the Muslim delegation at Sarajevo airport, where we discussed humanitarian issues and ways of restoring trust, within the framework of preparations for the next round of talks in Geneva.

Krajisnik expressed condolences to the families of the victims in today's massacre and said that the Serb side would make sure that all circumstances behind this crime were examined and its culprits uncovered and punished.

"We do not have one single reason for applying such terrible methods," said Nikola Koljevic. "We are doing everything in our power in order to resolve the crisis by political means, restore trust, and begin talks regarding

all matters, from political to humanitarian, but it is obvious that some factors are not interested in peace," said Koljevic.

Joint Investigation Rejected

LD0502220894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2120 GMT 5 Feb 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—After learning about the horrific massacre at the Markale market, the Main Headquarters of the republic of Srpska army sent an urgent demand to the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] command for former Bosnia-Herzegovina to immediately establish a mixed team of military experts to investigate all circumstances and find the culprits of the crime committed against the civilian population of Sarajevo.

"Since UNPROFOR's command did not respond by 1800 as we demanded, I made a phone call to the UNPROFOR command in Kiseljak. General Ramsey, the chief of staff of the UNPROFOR command for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, told me that the Muslim side had refused to take part in the setting up of the joint military experts team and its activities," Major General Manojlo Milovanovic, the chief of staff of the republic of Srpska army, stressed.

The main headquarters [of the republic of Srpska army] is dissatisfied with the UNPROFOR command's insufficient insistence on the Muslim side's participation, and on the need to establish the truth and inform the world public about it, outraged and horrified by the massacre, for which the Serbs are being accused without any proof, the statement by the main headquarters stresses.

Since the Muslim side refuses to take part in the work of the mixed commission of military experts, the main headquarters of the republic of Srpska is convinced that they planned and carried out the horrific massacre. Therefore, the republic of Srpska army categorically refutes and does not accept any involvement or responsibility for the serious crime. The UNPROFOR command has rejected [the proposal] that UNPROFOR's chief of staff and the chief of staff of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, together with the chief of staff of the republic of Srpska army, go to the scene of the crime together and investigate the consequences and circumstances of the tragedy, the statement says.

General Cot Comments

LD0602113894 Paris Radio France International in French 1100 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Report by Remy Hourdan from Sarajevo—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Remy Hourdan] [passage omitted] Standing in front of a pool of blood this morning at the scene of the attack, General Jean Cot had tears in his eyes:

[Cot] You can say what you want, but technically speaking, it is very very difficult. I am not trying to escape from this tragedy, but I am telling you that it is

technically difficult [to say where the shell came from]. The day before this attack the shell that landed on Dobrinja came from Serbian positions. Everyone knows that. It killed 10 people. It is a difference of degree, but we know that that shell was Serbian.

[Hourdan] And we do not know about this one?

[Cot] Technically no. I cannot tell you any more.

[passage omitted]

Serbs Doubt Massacre Report

LD0602120894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1115
GMT 6 Feb 94

[Text] Zvornik, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—The Serb side has strong reasons for doubting the objectivity and veracity of the official report on the latest civilian deaths caused by a mortar explosion at a crowded Sarajevo market on Saturday, the Bosnian Serb Army commander, Major General Manojlo Milovanovic, told TANJUG on Sunday [6 February]. This comes after the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) had 'unfoundedly and unsubstantiatedly blamed the Serb side, without coming up with any material evidence,' for Friday's mortar attack which killed nine people in a food queue in Sarajevo's Dobrinja suburb, Gen. Milovanovic said.

In order to prevent similar moves, the Serb side on Saturday proposed that a joint committee, made up of military experts of the UNPROFOR, the Bosnian Serbs and Muslims, visits the scene of the attack together with the military commanders of the Bosnian Serbs, Muslims and the UNPROFOR. The Muslims immediately refused to allow its experts to go to the scene of the explosion as did UNPROFOR chief-of-staff for Bosnia, General Angus Ramsey, although he had first accepted this proposal, Gen. Milovanovic said.

According to him, all this gives much reason to the Serb side to doubt the objectivity and truthfulness of the report on the blast at the Sarajevo market which killed 66 people and wounded close to 200. Gen. Milovanovic recalled that at the eve of all previous major peace talks, the Muslims had orchestrated even the killings of civilians in order to blame the Serbs for everything and cause the internationalization of the war.

Evacuations Begin

AU0602145894 Paris AFP in English 1439 GMT
6 Feb 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 6 (AFP)—The UN and Red Cross Sunday [6 February] began to evacuate 58 wounded people, including 30 survivors of Saturday's attack on a crowded Sarajevo marketplace and Friday's attack on a food line in suburban Dobrinja. Armoured troop transport vehicles bearing red crosses drew up at Sarajevo airport where a plane from the International Committee of the Red Cross and two U.S. hospital planes waited on

the runway. Some 60 wounded people and their relatives—about 100 people in all—would be flown out of the besieged Bosnian capital Sunday, said the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (HCR) coordinator for medical evacuations, Dr. Genevieve Begkoyian.

Thirty of them were wounded in the Friday and Saturday attacks in Sarajevo and Dobrinja, while the remaining 28 were already on HCR lists of seriously ill and wounded waiting to be evacuated before the latest atrocities occurred. The planes were to fly their human cargo to a U.S. hospital near the Rhein Main U.S. airbase, near the German city of Frankfurt, Begkoyian said.

A spokesman at a military airport in Ramstein, Germany, said a U.S. plane carrying a dozen people seriously wounded in the marketplace attack was expected to land there at around 4 p.m. The wounded would then be taken to the US military hospital in Landstuhl, near the western town of Kaiserslautern. He was unable to say if the plane, which carried eight doctors, nurses and evacuation specialists when it left for the Bosnian capital, would return to Sarajevo after depositing the wounded. Some of the wounded in Sarajevo were to be evacuated to Italy on a French plane, he added.

In the Croatian capital Zagreb, officials said a 60-bed U.S. mobile army surgical hospital (MASH) erected at Zagreb airport was ready to take in Sarajevo wounded, if asked, but that no decision had been made for the moment. Most of the wounded that could be moved would probably be flown to Italy and Germany, Colonel Stewart Watkins, commander of U.S. forces in ex-Yugoslavia, told reporters.

Akashi, Cot Visit Marketplace

AU0602150694 Paris AFP in English 1203 GMT
6 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Feb 6 (AFP)—UN special envoy to ex-Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi and UNPROFOR commander General Jean Cot visited the Sarajevo market Sunday where 66 people died in a mortar attack, as preparations were underway to evacuate some of the wounded.

Akashi and Cot were escorted to the site of Saturday's massacre, the worst single attack since the siege of the Bosnian capital began 22 months ago, by Sarajevo Mayor Muhamed Kreseljakovic and Bosnian Interior Minister Bakir Alispahic.

They were to meet with Bosnian leaders Sunday before heading back to Zagreb later in the afternoon.

Akashi said an investigation was underway to determine who had fired the shell that slammed into the crowded market, killing 66 and injuring 197, many of whom are not expected to survive because of the gravity of their wounds. She said although there were assumptions as to who was responsible, no final conclusions could yet be drawn.

The UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) said in a statement Saturday that it had "confirmed that the explosion was caused by a single, 120 mm mortar bomb fired from northeast of the market." But UNPROFOR spokesman Bill Aikman said the investigation was difficult as the shell first hit a tower without fully exploding and then crashed into the market. [passage omitted]

Koljevic Denounces Massacre

AU0602161394 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Text] Here is what Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Serbian republic, said in our Sunday At Ten program:

[Begin Koljevic recording] In my opinion, today we witnessed the greatest provocation since the beginning of the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, because the international community insisted on stopping the war at any price, regardless of the political solution that would ensue, and regardless of how long the political talks would take. However, in an attempt to manipulate and, particularly, to stage massacres, the Muslim side has done something that, despite repeated attempts, has not occurred up until now. Massacres have been staged in Sarajevo on two consecutive days; today we were able to see this clearly from the photographs available to us and yesterday it was possible to deduce from the information available that our side had not opened fire.

Why do I say that this is the most dramatic event? Because it took place on two consecutive days, because the first [massacre in Dobrinja] took place during the negotiations at the airport that aimed at furthering mutual trust. Moreover, this entire scandalous Bosnia-Herzegovina war chronicle happened five days before the Geneva conference scheduled for 10 February. I think, hope, and believe that Europe will find the strength to learn its lesson from such manipulation, and that it will finally accuse, or at least condemn, the side guilty of continuing the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [end recording]

Rose: Responsible Side Unknown

LD0602162894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1619 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, General Michael Rose on Sunday said that analysis had been completed but it was impossible to say which of the warring sides had on Saturday fired a mortar shell on an open air market in Sarajevo, killing 68 people and wounding nearly 200. REUTER said that General Rose had visited the market on Sunday together with UNPROFOR Commander for the former Yugoslavia, Gen. Jean Cot, and civilian head of UNPROFOR Yasushi Akashi to inspect 'the mortar crater and surrounding shrapnel holes.' The UNPROFOR officials were accompanied by Sarajevo's Muslim Mayor

Muhamed Kresevljakovic and Bosnian Muslim Interior Minister Bakir Alispahic. Akashi was quoted by the AFP as saying there were some suspicions but it could not be said with certainty who was responsible for the tragedy.

The Bosnian Serbs on Saturday categorically rejected the Bosnian Muslim accusations that Bosnian Serb troops were responsible for the crime, and it called for an urgent investigation to be carried out by a joint commission of representatives of UNPROFOR, the Bosnian Serb and the Muslim sides. The proposal was turned down by the Muslims.

After visiting the market in Sarajevo, Akashi and General Cot went to meet with the Bosnian Muslim presidency, according to the AFP. The two officials are to leave Sarajevo on Sunday afternoon, according to the same source. Representative of the office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Sergio Mele on Sunday said the evacuation of the wounded had begun.

Mele said that U.N. armoured personnel carriers were being used to take the wounded from city hospitals to the airport. He said 58 wounded were expected to be evacuated.

Bosnian Embassy: UNSC Responsible

AU0602181494 Paris AFP in English 1805 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Text] Vienna, Feb 6 (AFP)—Bosnia-Herzegovina's embassy in Vienna charged Sunday [6 February] that the UN Security Council was responsible "de facto" for the latest bloody attacks in Sarajevo by failing to carry out air strikes on the Serb besiegers. "The Security Council is empowered to prevent attacks on safe havens (in Bosnia-Herzegovina), which can be done by taking any action necessary, including air strikes," the embassy said in a statement published Sunday after a mortar attack on a Sarajevo market Saturday killed 66 and wounded 200.

The Bosnian capital is one of six UN-designated "safe havens" in the war-torn former Yugoslav republic.

"The international community has also pledged to prevent any further strangulation of the city of Sarajevo," the statement added. "It stands to reason that by not using its full powers and commitments, the Security Council in fact supports the aggressor and encourages his crimes."

Differing with the UN, the embassy went on to say that an attack on a food line in the suburb of Dobrinja on Friday killed 12 people and wounded 40. Latest figures from the UN Protection Force in Sarajevo put the number of deaths at 10. It added that the mortar shells which exploded at Dobrinja "were fired in a precise way at the line of people waiting for humanitarian aid."

The statement confirmed that 66 people were killed when a shell hit the Markale marketplace in Sarajevo on Saturday.

Izetbegovic, Jackovich Discuss Massacre

LD0602190294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency, today received Victor Jackovich, the American ambassador to our country. They discussed the latest horrific massacre in Sarajevo and decided that it was necessary to establish all the relevant facts about the incident as soon as possible. The American ambassador gave assurances that his country and its allies would do everything to prevent such crimes from happening again, and would take the necessary steps in that respect.

Serbs: Muslims Responsible

LD0602194394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1918 GMT 6 Feb 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb military sources on Sunday evening said there were indications that the Muslim side is responsible for the massacre which occurred in Sarajevo on Saturday, when 68 people were killed and nearly 200 wounded. There are indications that the projectile which hit the market in Sarajevo could have been fired from the positions of the Muslim Army's Second Motorized Brigade, two to three kilometers north-east of Sarajevo, Bosnian Serb military sources told TANJUG.

The Bosnian Serbs on Saturday categorically denied being responsible for the crime, and called for the immediate setting up of a joint commission of representatives of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), the Serb and Muslim sides to investigate the crime. The proposal was turned down by the Muslim side. UNPROFOR military experts have analyzed the crater left by the shell but have not so far been able to determine for sure from which side the shell was fired.

U.N. military observers at the Bosnian Serb military command at Lukavica and Bosnian Serb military sources agree on one point—that the number of casualties is too high to have been caused by a single 120mm mortar shell.

Krajisnik 'Certain' Serbs Innocent

AU0602202594 Novi Sad TVNS Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 6 Feb 94

["Exclusive" statement by Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Serbian republic assembly, to Novi Sad Television Dnevnik on 6 Feb; place not given—recorded]

[Text] What is certain is that the Serbs are not the perpetrators [of the massacre in Sarajevo]. In addition to the routine investigation that we conducted immediately after learning what happened at the produce market in Sarajevo, we also carried out an additional investigation,

and we can say with certainty that the Serbs did not do this and that the Serbian side did not gain any political advantage.

It is impossible to grasp that the Muslims would do something like this, and usually when we know that it was not us we are inclined to blame the other side. We have reached certain conclusions that a third side exists that is very interested in massacres such as this one happening, as certain political aims of foreign factors in former Bosnia-Herzegovina are thereby achieved. This said, we cannot today identify this side. There are many parties interested in preventing closer relations between the Serbs and the Muslims. They wanted to undermine these talks precisely at the moment when we were making positive progress on establishing trust between Serbs and Muslims, and when we were close to an agreement similar to the one signed with the Croats. We cannot now say that we cannot exclude the possibility of this being the Muslim side, but one thing is certain, and that is that the Serbs did not do this [sentence as heard].

Wounded To Be Evacuated

AU0702120394 Paris AFP in English 1150 GMT 7 Feb 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 7 (AFP)—Sixteen people wounded by a shell that crashed into a Sarajevo market over the weekend were to be evacuated to hospitals in Italy and Germany on Monday [7 February], UNHCR [United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees] medical coordinator Genevieve Begkoyian said. She said the victims, among some 200 people injured by the Saturday blast that also killed 68, would be transported to Ancona, Italy, where officials have offered 10 hospital beds. The remainder would be transported to American hospitals in Germany.

On Sunday, 50 wounded people and 74 family members were evacuated from the Bosnian capital. Among the wounded were 24 people injured in the market blast and a similar attack on a food line on Friday. The rest of the injured had been on a waiting list for evacuation. Begkoyian said only mothers of the victims were allowed to accompany them as their fathers must fulfill their military obligation. She said 96 of those wounded by the market attack are being treated at the city's Kosevo hospital and 31 others are at the French hospital. She said those slightly injured by the blast have been sent home and many have been amputated.

Begkoyian said the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is also seeking to evacuate 160 additional patients from Sarajevo, most of them suffering from kidney problems.

In Germany, a spokeswoman at the the Ramstein US airbase near Kaiserslautern said the victims were expected to arrive around 6:00 p.m. (1700 GMT). According to a spokesman at the Frankfurt airbase handling humanitarian aid to Bosnia, among those due to arrive would be between 12 and 20 stretcher cases.

Sunday evening three plane loads of Sarajevo wounded and their relatives arrived at Ramstein. They comprised 35 stretcher cases, 15 walking wounded and 79 relatives, the spokeswoman said. The wounded were taken to the US hospital at Landstuhl near Ramstein.

Several Shells Land in Sarajevo Suburbs 7 Feb

AU0702120794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 7 Feb 94

[Report by Dejan Cutovic from the Information Service of the 1st Army Corps]

[Text] The aggressor was not quiet in the Sarajevo area again today. This morning, shells landed on Zuc, Boljakov Potok, and Stup. Let us hear a report from the 1st Army Corps:

[Cutovic] These were mortar and howitzer shells, as well as projectiles from BST [expansion unknown]. We do not have any information on the consequences of the shelling yet. This behavior by the chetniks calls for extreme caution and all measures of self-protection.

This is Dejan Cutovic from the Information Service of the 1st Army Corps.

Death Toll in Dobrinja Shelling Rises to 8

AU0402133694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Feb 94

[Report by Jasna Niksic]

[Text] According to the latest information from Dobrinja Hospital, this morning in Dobrinja, Chetnik shells killed eight people, including two children, and 26 people were seriously or lightly wounded. After they were administered first aid, six people were immediately transferred to the City Hospital, and others received medical treatment and were then hospitalized in Dobrinja Hospital. The first results of the expert military teams in Dobrinja say that three shells were fired. Two of them were certainly of 120-mm caliber and the third is assumed to be of 82 mm. As the first results of the investigation show, the bombs were fired from Lukavica, that is, the Chetnik lair of the Slobodan Princip-Seljo Barracks. I hope we shall be able to provide even more precise information in our next newscast.

Internal Affairs Minister Bans Public Gatherings

LD0502191994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 5 Feb 94

[Text] We have just received a statement from the Internal Affairs Ministry Information Service. We carry the statement in full:

In accordance with the decision of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina of 5 February this year, Internal Affairs Minister Bakir Alispahic has issued an order banning all public gatherings from 0500 to 2200 on the

territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [Words indistinct] and other open air public places where humanitarian and other aid is distributed.

Exempt from this order are members of the Internal Affairs Ministry directly in charge of duties within the sphere of internal affairs [police], members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army on military duty, firemen, and medical teams. Appropriate measures will be taken against all those who do not comply with this order.

Serbs Said Prepared To Agree to Sarajevo Peace

LD0702011594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2310 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Text] Zvornik, 6 February (TANJUG)—The cochairmen of the peace conference on former Yugoslavia, David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, held talks with republic of Srpska [RS] President Radovan Karadzic in Zvornik this evening. The talks were also attended by RS Vice President Nikola Koljevic and the RS Assembly President Momcilo Krajisnik. After the talks, held behind closed doors, Stoltenberg said that the talks were part of continued peace efforts and "especially of the efforts to pull Sarajevo out of the current war situation." Asked to give more details about the talks, Stoltenberg stressed that "Bosnian Serbs have agreed to a separate peace for Sarajevo."

Stoltenberg stressed that it "cannot be said that the event in Sarajevo market yesterday is the only reason, but it is one more reason for attempting to establish peace in the area." He said he believed that the events in Sarajevo could affect the course of the Geneva negotiations "in that they are an indication of how necessary it is to establish peace."

In reference to the Serb side's readiness to help to find those responsible for the plight of the civilians in the Sarajevo market, Lord Owen stressed that it was necessary to find the offenders but that he was, as he put it, skeptical about it. "Despite, or rather because of it, I think it is necessary to bring about peace in that part of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a step toward total peace," Owen said. He went on to add that "at this juncture we must not forget Mostar and the victims there."

In Owen's view, an agreement on UN control of Sarajevo "could mean a great deal." "The acceptance of UN administration over Sarajevo would be the first step toward peace," he said. Owen stressed that he expected "all three sides to understand that we have to make a resolute step toward peace" at forthcoming negotiations in Geneva.

RS President Radovan Karadzic said that the talks were very useful and stressed that this was "perhaps the final stage of an agreement on peace in Sarajevo." Karadzic said that the Serb side had hoped that "the pacification of Sarajevo would be a part of the overall solution but that it was ready to take part in negotiations on Sarajevo even before the final political solution was reached." He

said that the talks on Sarajevo represented "a logical step in our constant efforts to improve the situation in Sarajevo."

Karadzic said that the Serb side demanded "a very strict investigation into the tragedy in Sarajevo by a joint commission" and went on to say that this was not the first time that this had happened. Karadzic said that those "who planned such tragedies expected too much from them" but that despite everything peace talks must be resumed. Asked about the pacification of Sarajevo, Karadzic said that "all this should be discussed during the work on an acceptable solution for Sarajevo."

"The best thing would be for the citizens of Sarajevo to get peace and for Sarajevo to become an open city. All conditions will be discussed during the negotiations," Karadzic explained.

Karadzic Urges Cease-Fire for Sarajevo

AU0602182894 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Statement by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic in Pale on 6 February—recorded]

[Text] The meeting with Mr. Akashi, Generals Cot and Rose, attempting to find a solution for a long-term and stable cease-fire in the Sarajevo region, passed in a constructive atmosphere. The Serbian side is very interested in complete calm in Sarajevo, and I believe that we are well on the way to achieving a cease-fire that would begin tomorrow, providing of course, that the Muslim side accepts it.

The Muslim side has one motive for accepting the cease-fire in Sarajevo, and one motive for not accepting the cease-fire. The motive for accepting is that this would free a large part of its forces that they could deploy on the fronts in central Bosnia against the Croats, and on other fronts throughout Bosnia against the Serbs. The motive for not accepting the cease-fire is that Sarajevo would stop being an international media hit, that is, the Muslims would lose a significant trump card, which they use to apply international pressure to the Serbs. However, I hope that reasons for accepting a just and stable cease-fire will prevail.

Izetbegovic Demands Serbian Artillery Withdrawal

LD0602224194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Text] [Announcer] Alija Izetbegovic, the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, held talks on two occasions today with the special envoy of the UN secretary general, Yasushi Akashi. Let us now hear what President Alija Izetbegovic and Yasushi Akashi had to say following their second meeting this evening.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] We have just completed the second round of talks with Mr. Akashi and his aides,

including General Rose and General Cot, and a number of other aides, seven or eight of them. The gist is that we will agree to a cease-fire in the Sarajevo region under the irrevocable condition that the Serb side withdraws its heavy artillery from around the city that they use to kill the population. As far as I was told, and it is my understanding, the Serb side refuses to accept this, but wants some kind of soft monitoring or something of that kind, which will not stop them from pounding the town again. We will not accept this.

I asked Akashi to explain how else can they [the Serbs] explain their insistence on keeping the artillery on the hills around the city but for a desire to kill the people whenever they wish. For, it is obvious that such actions have no military importance and serve to threaten the civilian population of the city. I am convinced that out of the people killed so far, 99 percent were civilians, the civilian population of the city which, as you know, includes 1,300 children and a very small number of soldiers. In other words, they have no military reason to keep their artillery there.

The talks will resume tomorrow. We will insist on the withdrawal of their artillery and on placing it under effective supervision. Whether the other side will accept this I do not know, but we will tell the world about it. The world must learn what the artillery means, what its task is. I repeat, its task is exclusively to blackmail the town and to kill its civilian population. They want to keep the town dead, for as long as there is artillery above the town we cannot open our schools, shops, and people cannot go about their business in a normal way.

This is more or less our stand. I think that they [UNPROFOR] can find out [who committed the carnage] but they are playing the game of not wanting to offend the other side, they avoid saying so. There is reliable evidence that the shell was fired from Donji Biosak. Our experts have established this as has UNPROFOR, but it refuses to present it as evidence. In other words, from deep behind Serb lines. They most probably want to leave enough room for maneuver to avoid taking any action that will tie them down.

What can be said with certainty—and I think our and their experts have come to the same conclusion, but they [UNPROFOR] refuse to say so—is that understandably, the shell came from Serb positions. In any case, all of the million shells that have destroyed the city, originated from the same positions. Why should this one be an exception? [end recording]

[Akashi—announcer-read] Ladies and gentlemen, since this morning I have continued my efforts with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and the Serb side, and with the Bosnian Presidency again to achieve a total and immediate cease-fire. I regret to say that these talks have not resulted in an agreement. We will have to resume efforts to find a solution acceptable to both sides.

One of the main differences is that the Bosnian Government wants the Serb artillery and heavy weapons

deployed around Sarajevo to be withdrawn and to be placed under UNPROFOR supervision. This is not acceptable to the Serbs, as they put it. I put forward some of my own ideas but no agreement was possible.

Who do you think is responsible for the failure of the talks?

I do not wish to blame any of the sides, but I want to stress that I will continue to talk until a solution acceptable to both sides is reached. The Serbs insist that regardless of its nature, the agreement on Sarajevo should be the first step toward reaching an agreement on the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is one of their conditions.

UN Envoy Akashi Says Mediation Effort 'Failed'

AU0602194194 Paris AFP in English 1930 GMT
6 Feb 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 6 (AFP)—UN special representative Yasushi Akashi said in Sarajevo Sunday [6 February] that his mediation effort in Sarajevo for a ceasefire had failed. He told reporters after meeting with both Bosnian and Serb officials: "I regret to tell you that these discussions have not reached an agreement yet."

"The major difference is that the Bosnian side wants to have the withdrawal of artillery, mortars and other heavy weapons out of range of the city of Sarajevo and be placed under UNPROFOR (UN Protection Force) control. This is not acceptable for the Serb side," Akashi said.

Talks Collapse

LD0602215294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2143
GMT 6 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—Chief of the U.N. operation in former Yugoslavia Yakushi Akashi has said that U.N.-mediated talks on a truce between Bosnia's Serbs and Moslems collapsed on Sunday [6 February]. REUTERS quoted Akashi as saying he had tried to mediate and effect a total and immediate ceasefire, but that vast differences existed between the conditions made by the two confronted sides. He regretted that no agreement had resulted at this time, but refused to attribute responsibility to either side.

The Japanese diplomat added that the biggest obstacle to an agreement was the Moslems' insistence that the Serbs withdraw their artillery from positions around Sarajevo and place it under U.N. control. Akashi and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic had drafted a truce agreement at their meeting earlier in the day. The truce, subject to Moslem approval on Sunday evening, was to take effect at 10 A.M. local time (09:00 G.M.T.) on Monday, February 7.

Rifkind, Silajdzic Statements Following Talks

LD0602190694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Text] [Announcer] Malcolm Rifkind, the defense minister [title as received] of Great Britain, visited Sarajevo today. The guest from Britain conveyed his government's deep concern for the situation in Sarajevo and the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Edin Nusic has the report.

[Nusic] Malcolm Rifkind and [Bosnian Prime Minister] Haris Silajdzic gave statements following the talks. The British defense minister conveyed the concern of the British Government for the situation in Sarajevo, and added:

[Begin Rifkind recording, in English, fading to superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] I think that the whole world was struck by the horror that befell the citizens of Sarajevo.

Although this is the most serious incident, we believe that it is by no means the only one. The citizens of Sarajevo have for a long time faced fatal agony and fear. We must consider every possibility of improving the situation and restoring peace to Sarajevo and the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina as soon as possible. [end recording]

[Nusic] Prime Minister Silajdzic had the following to say about his talks with the British defense minister:

[Begin Silajdzic recording] The visit by Mr. Rifkind, the defense minister of Great Britain, shows Great Britain's current new interest in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I tried to explain our situation concerning humanitarian aid and in the field. Humanitarian problems are huge, and they must not be forgotten under the circumstances, although it is very difficult to speak about humanitarian convoys after 66 deaths and 196 injuries yesterday. We said that we believe that force should be used against those who stop humanitarian convoys and, of course, against those who kill civilians in the way that it was done yesterday. We said that we have been waging a war against fascism on our own for two years now, and that Europe surprised us. Fascism is an issue that concerns all of us, something we all must fight. I hope that after this visit, which is well timed, this will no longer be so. [end recording]

HVO Continues 'Merciless' Attacks on Mostar

AU0702095794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 7 Feb 94

[Report by Enes Rasusic and Faruk Hajder from the Information Service of the 4th Army Corps]

[Text] Exploiting the attention of the international media and politicians on Sarajevo to the maximum, members of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and the Croatian Army continued their merciless artillery attacks on the lines of separation and civilian parts of the free parts of the Mostar commune. A sudden mortar

attack on Blagaj from the positions of the Ustasha forces left one person dead. Several persons were wounded in this treacherous attack. The central part of the town and the defense lines in this part of the town were subjected to intensified attacks by the aggressor all day yesterday and throughout the night.

Over 80 tank and mortar shells were fired on the central part of the town from the enemy's positions on the left side [of the Neretva River]. These were accompanied by constant fire from infantry weapons. In addition to firing dozens of mortar projectiles on the Bijelo Polje region yesterday, the Ustashes attacked civilian targets in Potoci with multiple rocket launchers on three occasions yesterday, killing two civilians.

At 0815 this morning, Ustashes fired several projectiles from multiple rocket launcher on the city center, fortunately, without tragic consequences. Despite the stepped up attacks by the aggressor, the attained defense lines remain unchanged and are under the control of the 4th corps.

Serbs Reportedly Repel Muslim Attack in Bihac

LD0602212394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2054 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Petrovac, Srbobran, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—A 120mm mortar attack was launched on the Srbobran [Donji Vakuf] town center this afternoon from Muslim strongholds north of Bugojno. A general alert was sounded in the town and people were in their shelters and basements. [passage omitted]

Members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps today used all available weapons to fiercely target the republic of Srpska army position's along the Bihac front from their strongholds in the Una River valley, Serbian military sources said. According to [Serbian] military sources, two soldiers of the 2nd [Bosnian] Krajina Corps of the republic of Srpska army were killed and three civilians were lightly wounded in the attacks. The Serbian side was forced to respond and it repelled the Muslim attack successfully. Serbian soldiers have captured Barakovac, the most important strategic point on the Bihac front.

Sarajevo Radio Says Mladic Preparing New Offensive

AU0702115094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 7 Feb 94

[Report by Smajil Terzic from the Information Center of the Seven South Operations Group]

[Text] [words indistinct] aggressor is not keeping quiet. In the last 24 hours it attacked civilian targets in Sije, Kalosevic, and Potocic. It is amassing huge forces and hardware in the zone of operations of the independent battalion [word indistinct]. Intensive combat activities are an interlude into a new offensive that is being

prepared by the criminal Mladic, using troops from Serbia and Russian and other mercenaries. Tanks and tank drivers are being brought from the so-called Yugoslav Army. It plans to extensively use aircraft, chemical agents, and surface-to-surface missiles, and carry out assaults, and subversive and terrorist actions.

It is known for sure that the aggressor has concentrated toward our units the forces of more than 20,000 troops, over 200 tanks and heavy artillery pieces, and two surface-to-surface systems. Air support would be provided by aircraft from Banja Luka and Serbia.

Assembly of Bosnian Croats Rejects Partition

LD0602210894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Excerpts] The Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Croats opened to the strains of the Lijepa Nasa [Our Lovely Land] anthem, [Croatia's national anthem], following which it paid tribute to the people killed in yesterday's massacre. The assembly was then addressed by Tvrtko Mevkestoc, president of the Croat Coordination Council. The assembly's main task is to define the general social position of Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, to chart the course of future social trends, and to articulate the Croats' national aims.

An undivided Bosnia-Herzegovina is in the vital interests of the Croatian people, Nevjestic stressed. The participants in the assembly were also addressed by Zvonimir Separovic on behalf of the World Victimology Society. Speaking about the conflict between the Croats and Muslims, Separovic pointed out that this had only helped the aggressor and that the conflict ought to be brought to an immediate end. He also read out a joint statement by the Academies of Sciences of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In it, the members of the academies demand an immediate end to hostilities, peace, freedom of movement, and the return of refugees to their homes.

The Assembly of Croats is a historic event as it is beneficial to Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as to its citizens, Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency said in his address. The assembly's decisions are of decisive importance as life in the future Bosnia-Herzegovina will depend on them, Miro Lazovic, president [speaker] of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly says. [passage omitted]

The former allies have clashed and have started hating each other, thus enabling the aggressors to do whatever they want. The Croatian people's interests lie in coexistence with others. At the moment, a defensive and just war is being waged in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Ivo Komsic [member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency] said.

[Begin Komsic recording] We certainly know that one war was imposed on us whereas some of our people [Croats] should also take the blame for our being drawn into the second war. We demonstrated that we can

organize defense by defending ourselves from Serbian aggression. In many areas Croatian fighters should take credit for the fact that the Serbian aggressor has not crushed the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina and completed its conquest. [end recording]

Following the debate, during the course of which a large number of those present voiced their views, the assembly passed a declaration demanding an immediate end to the war since an undivided Bosnia-Herzegovina is the only Bosnia-Herzegovina that the Croats desire. Bosnia-Herzegovina's Croats regard territorial conquest and its legalization by any side as unacceptable and impermissible. This is why the participants in the assembly demand that the plan for the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina must not be signed. Even if it is signed the Croats will regard it as null and void, as stated in the declaration adopted at today's Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Croats.

Herceg-Bosna Minister on Croats' Situation

LD0402113194 Zagreb HTV Television in
Serbo-Croatian 2240 GMT 3 Feb 94

[Telephone interview with Mile Akmadzic, minister of foreign relations and interrepublican cooperation of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, by an unidentified correspondent; correspondent in studio and Akmadzic in Siroki Brijeg—live]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Our guest this evening is Mile Akmadzic, minister of foreign relations and interrepublican cooperation of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. Mr. Akmadzic, good evening.

[Akmadzic] Good evening.

[Correspondent] We are pleased to welcome you once again to our program. It seems that many interesting things have been happening on the eve of the next round of the Geneva talks that are scheduled for 8 February. It looks as if Croats are in vogue once again. Several events have led to the conclusion that considerable pressure has been exerted on the Croatian negotiating team and on the Croatian state. Do you have the same feeling?

[Akmadzic] I have this feeling, naturally. However, I would like to say that pressure is being put on all the three warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina, i.e. on all the sides that are taking part in the Geneva talks, which means the three warring sides as well as the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia, which are also taking part in the Geneva talks. The pressure has been planned in advance. It has been exerted for a long time, and I believe that it has now been intensified to a certain extent.

[Correspondent] Within the context of this pressure, the most interesting thing was the recent speculations about sanctions against Croatia. How would you comment on yesterday's accusations and claims contained in Butrus-Ghali's report, i.e. his letter to the UN Security Council

about members of the Croatian Army fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina? As we could see, the figure in question is 3,000-5,000 Croatian soldiers.

[Akmadzic] This first started with a letter to the UN Security Council president by Bosnian Prime Minister Silajdzic in which Silajdzic accused Croatia of armed intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have—I personally and many other structures in Herceg-Bosna and in the Republic of Croatia—strongly denied these accusations. There are no regular units of the Croatian Army in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is certain; this is absolutely true. Namely, there are only volunteers in Bosnia-Herzegovina, who reported as individuals or as small organized groups to defend their homes, their homeland, and their families in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This is, therefore, not an intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina from the outside. I said before that both Mr. Izetbegovic and Mr. Silajdzic have known this. They knew about the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina a year ago, and the situation has not changed since. There is nothing new. The new situation is that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has been suffering defeats in its [word indistinct] actions against the HVO [Croatian Defense Council]. Because of this, it is looking for excuses and looking to justify itself by accusing the Republic of Croatia.

[Correspondent] Either way, the fact is that everyone has taken yesterday's Butrus-Ghali letter seriously. For instance, the Danish foreign minister has already announced that Denmark would call for sanctions against the Republic of Croatia at the next session in Brussels on 7 and 8 February. On the one side, we have your stand, and on the other is a report from the United Nations.

[Akmadzic] Of course, what the world is thinking is what is important and not just what has been happening. I must say that the present situation—in this respect—is very serious. I believe, however, that the world will see and that we will prove—through international observers, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]—that there are no regular units in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Likewise, the world cannot consider individuals from Croatia in Bosnia-Herzegovina as the Croatian Army's presence and then threaten Croatia in some way. I would not say that sanctions will be introduced in Croatia. I think that this would be too strong. There will be no sanctions. The international community is aware of the fact that it would be a very bad and risky move on their part. I do believe, however, that the Croatian delegation will be cautioned in Geneva, and I hope it will end on this.

[Correspondent] But could this pressure result in the Croatian side's concessions at the Geneva talks—in unwanted concessions?

[Akmadzic] There is no question of any concessions. As far as the talks on the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina are concerned, we are negotiating about a lasting political solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina. We are not talking

about an isolated case that happened and that could [word indistinct] such fundamental decisions as the organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. There will be no concessions. The international community—both the EU and the United Nations—gave us their support so that what has been promised and given as concession [words indistinct] will remain and that the Croatian side will keep to that. There will be no fresh concessions or demands for fresh concessions.

[Correspondent] In our program last night, we talked to Mr. Jelic about the Croatian convention, which is to take place on Sunday, 6 February in Sarajevo. You are also going to be there. What information do you have about the convention? What are its objectives, and what stance will you take there?

[Akmadzic] I have registered to take part at the Croat convention in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I would call it a so-called convention. It is really a gathering of Croats that has no legitimacy with regard to representing the Croat people. [passage omitted]

I will travel to Sarajevo on 5 February to take part in the talks between the Croatian, Muslim, and Serbian people—which regularly take place at the airport. These talks on reestablishing mutual trust are held on the level of a working group. If it is possible for me to stay the night in Sarajevo, if UNPROFOR gives me permission, I will stay and attend the convention. As things stand now, however, this is not likely. It seems that it will not be possible for me to stay.

[Correspondent] Does this mean that there will be nobody from Herceg-Bosna in Sarajevo?

[Akmadzic] The Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna has requested that UNPROFOR allow some people to attend, the people who were designated to attend by the coordination committee in Sarajevo that convened the

gathering. We have not received any reply to confirm that we will be allowed to enter Sarajevo. If we do receive it, we will go to Sarajevo, of course.

You also mentioned the extraordinary session of the Chamber of Deputies, our fifth session so far, scheduled to take place in Livno on 8 February. This will be a session of the extended Chamber of Deputies. I would, in fact, call it a real convention, although it is not officially a convention. All current political and military questions, the current military situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, will be discussed there. The Chamber of Deputies is expected to make some very concrete decisions, outlining the direction for the Croatian people at this very important historic period, at this very difficult time for the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Croatian people are facing aggression, first by the Serbs and then also by the Muslims, in continuous fighting that has been going on for a long time. We must make a decision on the course of our further activities. We must decide which path to take in the search for peace because our lasting objective is peace, not peace at any cost, but peace within the limits of justice and what the Croatian people deserve.

[Correspondent] Let us get back to the gathering in Sarajevo on 6 February. You said it was a so-called Croatian convention. The fact is that nobody is entitled to prevent Croats who remain outside of the borders of Herceg-Bosna from trying to articulate their interests. They really are in a specific position, and it is a fact that a number of Croats remain outside of Herceg-Bosna, outside of the region that will probably be one of the three parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. They do have the right to articulate their interests. What objections do you have to their gathering? Why are they [word indistinct]?

[Akmadzic] I said so-called convention because the word convention usually means a legislative body. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic, Tudjman Meeting in Rome Canceled

LD0702111994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1019
GMT 7 Feb 94

[Text] Zagreb, Feb 7 (TANJUG)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic will not meet in Rome in the middle of the week as earlier announced. TANJUG has learned in Zagreb that the two sides have agreed that Bosnian Moslem Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic and Croatian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Mate Granic meet instead in Geneva on February 9. It is only if the Silajdzic-Granic talks produce some results that a decision on a Tudjman-Izetbegovic meeting will be taken. The venue and date of the meeting would be subsequently set.

Granic Believes EU Will Not Impose Sanctions

LD0602210494 Zagreb HTV Television in
Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Studio interview with Croatian Foreign Minister by an unidentified announcer—live]

[Text] [Announcer] Our guest tonight is Mate Granic, the deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Croatia. Good evening to you. What should Croatia expect from tomorrow's meeting of EU [European Union] foreign ministers in Brussels, or to put it briefly, will sanctions [against Croatia] be imposed or not.

[Granic] I believe they will not be imposed. Bosnia-Herzegovina was placed on the agenda earlier. We are aware that Denmark will put forward a proposal to impose sanctions but we believe that this will not take place. It is possible that they will discuss taking away some privileges. We believe that the meeting tomorrow will end with a declaration that will call on all three sides to do all they can to achieve a cease-fire and an agreement. Additional pressure on Croatia is also possible but I believe that sanctions are not probable.

[Announcer] Two days ago Croatia received a statement issued by the UN Security Council chairman. What is Croatia preparing as a reply. I noticed that the Council for National Defense and Security held a meeting yesterday. What now?

[Granic] The statement issued by the UN Security Council chairman represents additional pressure on all three sides, Croatia in particular. It followed a letter sent by Haris Silajdzic [on the regular Croatian Army's intervention in Bosnia] and was accompanied by pressure exerted by Islamic states. The statement is toned down in comparison to its first version. Its intention is of course to press the Croatian side in doing its best to reach a lasting cease-fire and an agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina. Croatia is prepared to do all it can because of its own interests, the interests of the whole region, and the international situation. We were urged to do so in all other contacts we had, by the Holy See, and all other important states.

Croatia will accept the supervision of the borders and it has proposed the supervision of all borders between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia and all the other borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Croatia has also proposed the supervision of all of its military units, and it will propose the same to the Croatian Defense Council, telling them to invite international inspections. We claim that 2,000 volunteers from Croatia are fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina to protect their homes, but in any case, we will accept all the results of the inspections. It is known that regular Croatian Army units are deployed in the area north of Dubrovnik [inside Bosnia-Herzegovina's Trebinje municipality] in agreement with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government. In any case, Croatia is prepared to do everything it can to continue negotiations on an unconditional cease-fire and to achieve a lasting solution as soon as possible.

[Announcer] You visited Rome and the Vatican this week. This was followed by a report from Rome that Italian Foreign Minister Andreotta was prepared to host a meeting between President Tudjman and President Izetbegovic.

[Granic] Yes, the Italian side is prepared to organize such a meeting and we have conveyed this to the Bosnian side. It was agreed that Prime Minister Silajdzic and I will hold a meeting in Geneva on Wednesday. If any progress is made a decision will be made on a meeting at the highest level and its venue.

[Announcer] A meeting of Bosnian Croats is taking place in Sarajevo today and another one will take place in Livno. You will go to Livno as President Tudjman's envoy. What do you think about the meeting in Sarajevo.

[Granic] We understand the delicate and specific position of the Croats in Sarajevo, and that is why the meeting in Livno is taking place as a meeting of all Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina—those expelled, those in free territory, or those in Posavina—are in different positions in comparison to the Croats in Sarajevo. I hope that these meetings will be meetings of unity of the Croatian nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that they will not harm Croatian state policy and the basic Croatian interests in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Announcer] After the next round of Geneva negotiations there is another meeting in store. The deputy prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is expected to visit Zagreb on 12 February.

[Granic] Yes, this meeting will take place in Zagreb, and it is planned that an initial meeting of the joint commissions for finding missing persons, humanitarian issues, and refugees will take place. We will also discuss all details about the opening of [diplomatic] offices in Belgrade and Zagreb, and all other important political issues in connection with the normalization of Serb-Croat relations will be on the agenda.

Tomorrow we expect to sign seven agreements with the Slovenian Government, and as early as tomorrow we will also resume negotiations on all unresolved issues with the Slovenian Government.

Shell With 'Special Fuse' Used in Sarajevo

LD0602222394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Excerpts] A convention of military psychologists entitled *The Treatment of Combat Stress Reactions*, which will take place over the next two days chaired by Warren Dale, the director of the San Francisco trauma program, opened this evening at the Croatian military academy. [passage omitted]

In his speech, General Janko Bobetko, the chief of general staff of the Croatian Army, mentioned yesterday's massacre in Sarajevo.

[Begin Bobetko recording] The attack was very organized, with propaganda immediately saying that it was one shell and that it was by chance. This is not true. It was a shell with a special fuse, that under an angle of 60 degrees has an impact within a 60-90 meter radius, causing 70-80 percent mortal injuries. It can be fired from a distance of three to four kilometers. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Slovene Prime Minister Arrives for Talks

LD0702120594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 7 Feb 94

[Text] A delegation of the Slovene Government, headed by Slovene Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek, has arrived on a one-day official visit to the Republic of Croatia. The Slovene delegation was welcomed and greeted by Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic in front of Banski Dvori [offices of Croatian Government in Zagreb] with all state honors. The two prime ministers and their delegations have begun talks behind closed doors in Banski Dvori.

Prime Ministers Drnovsek and Valentic are expected to sign several agreements: on employment, on cooperation in education and culture, on reciprocal implementation of court decisions in criminal law, on legal aid in civic and criminal issues, on sea fishing, and on economic and trade relations and cooperation between Croatia and Slovenia.

Slovene Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek and Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle are also expected to be received by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

Croats Attack Krajina Defense Lines

LD0602162094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1516 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Text] Knin, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—Croatian forces on Sunday resumed attacks on Serb defence lines in the

north Dalmatian front, the Bosnian Serb command said on Sunday [6 February]. Intensive mortar, cannon and tank fire was opened on the region of Smiljcici, Kasici (west of Benkovac) and on the villages in the Novigrad hinterland. The attacks wounded one Serb soldier, and inflicted considerable material damage on civilian targets, thus forcing the Serb troops to respond.

The Croatian forces also staged provocative attacks on the Skradin hinterland, the Drnis front and the area of Plasko in Lika while, in the other parts of the front, the warring sides observed the ceasefire. The Croatians launched offensive actions despite the Christmas ceasefire, which was agreed late last year and extended on two occasions. It remains in force until February 28. The republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.) was proclaimed a U.N. protected area (UNPA) and, under the Vance plan, 14,000 U.N. peacekeepers were sent there in early 1992. The plan called for an end to the fighting between Croatian army and the local Serbs. R.S.K. was proclaimed by the local Serbs in territories where they are in the majority in response to Croatia's forcible secession from the former Yugoslav federation.

Croatian UN Envoy Explains Statement on Attack

LD0402232294 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2220 GMT 4 Feb 94

[Text] [Announcer] We telephoned Mario Nobilo [in New York] this evening and asked him to explain his alleged statement regarding an attack on Serbs in the occupied Croatian territories in case sanctions are introduced [against Croatia]. May we just warn that this statement orbited the entire world via REUTERS and caused considerable concern among the international public. Here is the explanation of our UN ambassador:

[Begin Nobilo recording] The threat that Croatia will declare war against Krajina if sanctions are introduced was simplified and taken out of context. Journalists insisted on knowing what would happen if sanctions were to be introduced. My opinion is that sanctions would move Croatia and the entire region closer to war. Apart from this, they would create a new wave of refugees throughout Europe, and disturb the balance of forces because Serbs would then be in a more favorable position with all the unforeseeable consequences this would entail. Croatia, as the victim of aggression, would find it difficult to accept sanctions as far as its morale is concerned.

In any case, both the Bosnian ambassador and I are trying to place this whole new situation within the context of successful talks expected at the next round of Croatian-Muslim talks on the settlement of the remaining controversial matters. [end recording]

Defense, Security Council Issues Statement

LD0502190294 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 5 Feb 94

[Excerpts] We have just received the following statement from the Office of the President of the Republic:

The presidential Council of Defense and National Security held its 36th session last night [4 February] with Franjo Tudjman, the president of the Republic of Croatia, in the chair. The council examined the current foreign-political situation in connection with the resolution of the Croatian Assembly passed on 2 February 1994, and the presidential statement of the UNSC [UN Security Council] of 3 February this year. Having heard the report of Foreign Minister Mate Granic on his return from official visits to Italy and the Vatican and diplomatic contacts with other countries, the council adopted the following conclusions after a discussion on these and other matters:

1. The council thoroughly examined the UNSC presidential statement and decided to take all necessary steps in order that all controversial issues resulting from this statement be explained to the UNSC regarding the implementation of the demand concerning the Republic of Croatia. The aim is to enable the UN secretary general—within the fixed deadline—to submit to the UNSC an authoritative report based on facts.

2. The Council assessed that the UNSC presidential statement was adopted on the basis of an unjust and unsubstantiated request by Haris Silajdzic, and accusations of the involvement of 30,000 members of the Croatian Army in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina supported by some Islamic countries, with the clear aim of exerting international pressure on the Republic of Croatia and on all warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in order that a political solution be found.

In connection with this the council said that Croatia—in line with its constitutional provisions and the agreement on friendship and cooperation, signed by the president of the Republic of Croatia and the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency on 12 July 1992, has supported the defense efforts of the Croatian and Muslim people in Bosnia-Herzegovina since the beginning of the Serbian aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina, thus preventing Bosnia in its entirety from becoming part of greater Serbia. Croatia also accepted over half a million refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina and is today caring for 282,000 mostly Muslim refugees.

3. The presidential Defense and National Security Council was surprised to hear both the Sarajevo Government accusations and the UNSC presidential statement—considering that Croatia, judging by the general recognition on behalf of international factors—showed the highest level of cooperation in its efforts aimed at ending the war and finding a political solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Council maintains that Croatia should persevere in its peace-making policy. The aim of such a policy is to ensure

the integrity of the Croatian nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is threatened by both Serb and Muslim aggression, this being in the interest of both the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the security of the Croatian state.

In this connection the council draws attention to the need for the international community to take effective steps toward ending the war caused by the Serbian aggression, and toward ending the offensive of Muslim Armed Forces against Croatian areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially in central Bosnia where tens of thousands of Croatian civilians are threatened in some enclaves.

4. Concerning the accusations that Croatian Army elements are involved in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The council stresses that the Croatian Army units are deployed only in the border area between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, above Dubrovnik toward Stolac and Neretva [inside Bosnia-Herzegovina's Trebinje municipality]. They are holding defense lines against the Serbs in accordance with the above-mentioned agreement on friendship and cooperation between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. The council reiterated that Croatia had allowed about 2,000 volunteer soldiers of Bosnia-Herzegovina origin to go to help their [Croat] kin in Bosnia in order to protect them from aggression and ethnic cleansing.

The world is aware that the volunteers, deployed in HVO [Croatian Defense Council] units, did not engage in any operations to capture territories that belong to somebody else, but only defended their centuries-old hearths. The Croatian public has supported them in this because they and their compatriots from those areas [Herzeg-Bosna] had joined Croatian Army ranks to defend Croatia from the Yugo-Communist and Serbian aggression.

In comparison to Croatian volunteers, three times more Mojahedin fundamentalists from foreign states are fighting on the Muslim side. Not only Croatia but Europe as well is worried by the growth and strengthening of fundamentalism.

5. Concerning the allegations that regular Croatian Army units are deployed in central and southern Bosnia. The Defense Ministry of the Republic of Croatia will propose necessary steps in line with the demands made in the UNSC presidential statement. Croatia once again expresses its preparedness and calls for the international community to establish the real situation and the validity of the allegations. Further conclusions of the UNSC should be based on this.

If the Muslim forces do not halt the offensive in central Bosnia, the Assembly's Chamber of Deputies believes that the government and the president of the Republic of Croatia should review and reconsider current diplomatic relations between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and, in line with their assessment, take all adequate steps.

The council calls for an immediate and unconditional cease-fire and the resumption of talks in order to reach an agreement between Croats and Muslims in line with the proposal of the contractual agreement—on establishing a lasting and permanent peace between the Croat and Bosnian Muslim nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and on the basis of further coexistence—tabled by President Tudjman at a meeting with the Bosnian [Muslim] delegation in Bonn on 10 January 1994.

If these efforts yield no results, Croatia should reconsider all relations with the government in Sarajevo, and the government of the Republic of Croatia has been given the task of drawing up a list of all Bosnia-Herzegovina representative offices and organizations active in the Republic of Croatia. The council believes that it is untenable that the government in Sarajevo should use the territory of the Republic of Croatia to plan and organize logistical support for its military actions, which result in the expulsion and ethnic cleansing of Croats [in Bosnia].

The council demands of the international community to proclaim the threatened Croat areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina protected areas, and help secure the survival of the Croatian nation.

The council has accepted the proposal to join the NATO program Partnership for Peace, and lends its support to Croatia's intention to join the process. In connection with this, the Foreign Affairs Ministry has been charged with drawing up a final proposal on this and taking concrete steps. [passage omitted]

The council was informed about the steps taken to implement the declaration on the normalization of relations between Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It was noted that the declaration should be implemented immediately, without any speculation in that respect. The council put a special stress on the fact that the agreement in principle on the normalization of relations between Croats and Serbs is not directed against Muslims. On the contrary, the agreement should be seen as a contribution to the efforts to reach a speedier solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The council lends its full support to the efforts of the Croatian Government to solve all disputed issues with the neighboring Republic of Slovenia as soon as possible, and it points to the need to deal simultaneously with the problem of the Piran Bay and connecting Croatia with Europe.

Peterle 'Still Waiting' for NATO Reply*AU0402162494 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 4 Feb 94*

[Text] Today's session of the State Chamber Commission for International Relations was also attended by Foreign Minister Peterle. Regarding some criticism and various interpretations of Slovenia's participation in the Partnership for Peace plan, Peterle said that they were a result of lack of understanding of the matter. He emphasized that this plan envisages several groups of countries and corresponding procedures for their incorporation. A special procedure is envisaged for the former Warsaw Pact members, while a different procedure is envisaged for some other countries, among which is also Slovenia. Minister Peterle said that Slovenia is still waiting for the official reply of the NATO consultation council regarding the request to be included in the Partnership for Peace plan. The headquarters in Brussels have indicated that Slovenia's membership in the consultation council will only be possible when our country will sign the agreement on associate membership in the European Union, Lojze Peterle said.

Foreign Affairs Committee: NATO Interest Waning*LD0602180794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1739 GMT 6 Feb 94*

[By Igor Saranovic]

[Text] Ljubljana, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—The Slovenian Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee reports that NATO's interest in Slovenia is waning and that pleas by the country's political leadership that the nation soon be placed under NATO's umbrella have not produced the desired effect. NATO has dispatched delegations to Warsaw, Vilnius, Riga, Tirana, Sofia, Bucharest and Prague, but not to Ljubljana, to finalise agreements on its Partnership for Peace project. NATO's decision to give Ljubljana a wide berth has been received in Slovenia as a blow which has shaken even the most optimistic advocates of an easy integration into Western Europe.

The most vehement critic of Slovenia's current foreign policy, former Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel, admits bitterly that the picture of untroubled relations between Slovenia and NATO is paling around the edges. "We are wrong to believe that Slovenia is steadily getting closer to Western European integrations. The fact alone that our state is still under the arms sales embargo (which is in force against all of former Yugoslavia) puts us squarely in the context of former Yugoslavia," says Rupel.

The Slovenian leadership has expected that association with the world's strongest alliance would automatically usher the national economy into the convertible currency markets by the back door. The recent first official hint that this breakaway Yugoslav republic might be willing to normalise relations with Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) is not regarded here as a victory of reason over political daydreaming, but as a logical result of Slovenia's wobbly international political and economic position.

Last year, Slovenia spurned Yugoslavia's offer of mutual recognition.

Slovenia, once the most highly industrialised Yugoslav republic, is inescapably turning into an economic, commercial and political cul-de-sac of Europe. Its leaders have recognised this only after the slap in the face administered by NATO, and have suddenly turned to Yugoslavia, the country which Slovenian authorities are persistently and ruthlessly denegrating at every turn.

Croatia To Settle Debt to Nuclear Power Station*AU0202154894 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 2 Feb 94*

[Excerpt] Croatia will have paid off 14 million German marks of its debt to the Krsko nuclear power station by 5 February. The remainder of the debt will be settled by 1 August. If the neighboring country keeps to this agreement, then the extraordinary circumstances surrounding the supply of electricity to Croatia should have ended by the end of this week. Economics Ministers Maks Tajnikar and Nada Vidosevic agreed this at a meeting this morning in Otocec. [passage omitted]

Federal

Foreign Ministry Condemns Sarajevo Massacre

LD0502230694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2230
GMT 5 Feb 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 5 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Foreign Ministry on Saturday [5 February] condemned the massacre of innocent civilians in Sarajevo's crowded marketplace in a blast earlier in the day and called for immediate steps to be taken to establish the truth of the matter and punish those responsible for the atrocity. Foreign news agencies have reported at least 66 dead and more than 160 injured in the explosion.

In a statement released on Saturday evening, the ministry said that "this criminal act, which follows an earlier established pattern, is a heavy blow to the peace process." "We appeal to all factors of the peace process not to permit any political or media manipulation of this tragic event and to invest firm and unbiased efforts to establish the truth, prevent any obstruction of the peace process and show determination in the effort to reach just and lasting peace in former Bosnia- Herzegovina," the statement said.

Belgrade Protests Damage to Hamburg Consulate

LD0602201194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1952
GMT 6 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Foreign Ministry on Sunday lodged a sharp protest with the charge d'affaires of the German embassy in Belgrade in connection with the vandalizing of the building of the Yugoslav consulate general in Hamburg in violent demonstrations staged by Bosnian Muslims. Militant Bosnian Muslims organized the demonstrations without permission from local authorities, and stoned the building, breaking windows and damaging doors on it.

Ambassador in the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry Zivadin Jovanovic said that the unprovoked demonstrations were violent, and the German side was responsible for the damages caused on the consulate building, the property of Yugoslavia. Ambassador Jovanovic requested of German authorities to open a thorough investigation, take adequate measures against the perpetrators of the violence, and secure all necessary conditions for the normal work and full security of the Yugoslav diplomatic and consular missions and representatives in Germany.

Charge d'affaires of the German embassy in Belgrade Gerhard Schwemgens said he regretted the deplorable incident, and promised he would communicate the Yugoslav protest to his government so that similar incidents would be prevented in future.

Chernomyrdin Writes Kontic on Gas Deliveries

LD0402130494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in
Serbo-Croatian 1132 GMT 4 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Feb (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic received a letter today from the Russian Federation Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, the [FRY] Federal Information Ministry says in a statement. The letter reads:

"We wish to thank you for the great appreciation of the efforts Russia is making to alleviate the humanitarian situation in the FRY. I understand the difficulties that the people of your country are experiencing. We believe that an urgent political solution and the reaching of an acceptable comprehensive agreement between the three sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina will bring about the lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia.

"The Russian side made energetic efforts during 1993 to try to satisfy the humanitarian needs of the FRY, primarily in terms of supplying it with energy. Unfortunately, our repeated appeals to the UN Security Council sanctions committee, including the latest one of 10 December 1993, have so far not met with the necessary understanding. However, Russia intends to continue to insist on obtaining permits that would enable it to satisfy the humanitarian needs of the FRY. In so doing, the recommendations by the president of the UN Security Council sanctions committee, of which we have informed you through the Russian Embassy in Belgrade, will be taken into consideration.

"For our part, we confirm our readiness to begin humanitarian deliveries of gas once the necessary permit has been obtained."

Serbia

Milosevic Condemns Sarajevo Massacre

LD0602152894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in
Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 6 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—I condemn the crimes in Sarajevo with the utmost bitterness, said Republic of Serbia President Slobodan Milosevic in a statement to TANJUG today.

"The dead and injured in Sarajevo are not the victims of war but the victims of war criminals. We all expect that these criminals to be found in the very near future and put on trial for the crime they have committed."

"The revulsion felt by the Yugoslav and international public is justified, and I sincerely hope that no political reasons will hamper the rapid discovery of the criminals and diminish their responsibility," said Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia.

Milosevic Discusses Bosnia With Stoltenberg, Owen*LD0702121394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1124 GMT 7 Feb 94*

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—This morning President of the Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic received Thorvald Stoltenberg and David Owen, the cochairmen of the Geneva conference. As the Serbian president's office has announced, they discussed the creation of conditions for restoring peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina as soon as possible and the stabilization of the overall situation in the Yugoslav area. It was noted that the negotiating process has no alternative as the path toward peace, and that it should not be allowed to suspend the negotiations before a final peace agreement is reached.

They stressed the close link between lifting the sanctions against Serbia, that is, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and finding a peaceful solution to Bosnia-Herzegovina, and pointed to the forces still opposed to this. They also discussed the efforts for an overall normalization of relations in the Yugoslav area, and decided that the normalization of relations between Serbs and Croats is of great importance in that context.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic also took part in the talks.

Russian Deputy on 'Secret' Weapon Given to Serbs*LD0402154994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1409 GMT 4 Feb 94*

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Feb (TANJUG)—The chairman of the Party of Serb Unity (SSJ), Zeljko Raznjatovic-Arkan, and the deputy chairman of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), Aleksey Ivanovich Videnkin, at a news conference today made public an agreement on cooperation the two sides signed on 2 February. According to the agreement, the SSJ and the LDP will establish economic, cultural, sports and, it was stressed, military cooperation "in the event of the endangering of the Serbian, Russian, or other Orthodox nations."

Raznjatovic stressed that cooperation between the two parties began when there were seven LDP members—who are now in prominent posts in this party—with his volunteers in Krajina.

Videnkin told journalists that the LDP had given Arkan "a secret electronic weapon" which is activated by "the fusion [spajanje] of protons and neutrons at high temperature." He pointed out that this weapon would be used if towns in Bosnia and Serbia were bombed and added that "the world does not yet know what force this weapon has." The LDP deputy chairman specified that this weapon acts in such a way that "in a few hours it can kill a person, without him knowing why he is dying." According to him, this same lethal weapon could be "used in small quantities and have a beneficial effect on

people." He explained that "the secret weapon" had not reached the Serbian side through state channels, because neither the LDP nor the SSJ are ruling parties.

A laboratory where experiments are carried out and the professor who created the weapon, which, Videnkin said, was tried out successfully near Brcko recently, were also made available to Arkan. Asked where this weapon was, Raznjatovic stressed that "neither the weapon, which arrived in the form of a model, nor the laboratory, nor the professor, are on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" and that the Yugoslav authorities know nothing of this. Arkan stated that this was a matter of a "weapon of peace," because it repels attacks and that next time it would probably be tested in Cyprus.

Assembly Chairman Interviewed on Pending Session*AU0502215694 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 5 Feb 94*

[Interview with newly elected Serbian Assembly Chairman Dragan Tomic by Spomenka Jovic in Belgrade on 5 Feb—live]

[Text] [Jovic] Esteemed viewers, as we have already announced in our headlines, tonight the guest of Dnevnik is Dragan Tomic, chairman of the Serbian Assembly. Good evening.

[Tomic] Good evening.

[Jovic] Everyone who has watched the Serbian Assembly broadcasts is aware of this, but we will nevertheless remind viewers that in your capacity as head of a deputy caucus, you addressed the deputies and very clearly explained the Socialist Party of Serbia's [SPS] platform.

[Tomic] And not only the SPS's platform, but primarily President Milosevic's request that Serbian political forces join forces in a policy of peace, economic prosperity, and crime-fighting. I think this is the backbone and essence of the whole thing, and the views expressed in the parliament have confirmed this.

[Jovic] What could be seen from the broadcasts is that you have been given a good reception as new Serbian Assembly chairman; what we still do not know, but are sure to learn on Tuesday when the Assembly meets again, concerns the negotiations. This request actually marked the end of the previous session. The negotiations with the head of deputy caucuses, how are they going?

[Tomic] Well, the negotiations and talks will continue during this break. On Tuesday [8 February] we will probably be completely ready to continue our work; we primarily need to elect a deputy assembly chairman, then working bodies, then we have the election of the secretary general, and finally, we should elect the deputies to the Chamber of Republics in the Federal Assembly. These tasks will mark an end to constituting the republican Assembly, which will be prepared in such

a way that it will be capable of carrying on with the important part of the tasks in its domain, and with what the people of this republic, the people of Serbia, expect.

[Jovic] For the time being, are all the heads, all the deputy caucuses, participating in the negotiations?

[Tomic] Well, you know, the talks are collective, they are discussing things among themselves, in the opposition bloc, among the representatives of the SPS, and so forth. Consultations are underway. We expect that Monday [7 February] will be particularly busy, and that in the course of the day we will conclude most of these talks, negotiations, and preparations for the session that will then begin.

[Jovic] So everything can be reviewed at the session on Tuesday, while it is still hot, so to speak?

[Tomic] Yes. Of course, we still have a few things to do on Tuesday morning, but you know how these things are; these activities take time, they will probably continue through Tuesday, depending on the number and type of proposals, whether all these proposals are to be coordinated, agreed upon, whether all of them will be on the agenda, and so forth.

[Jovic] Thank you very much. It is important that we have started rolling.

[Tomic] Absolutely.

[Jovic] Thank you.

Macedonia

Charges on Albanian Paramilitaries Detailed

AU0702112694 Skopje VECER in Macedonian
5-6 Feb pp 6, 7

[Report by Ljubisa Stankovic report: "The Order Comes From 777"]

[Text] VECER Editorial Staff yesterday received exclusive information about the charges made by the District Court in Skopje against the 10 accused with attempting to create an Albanian paramilitary army in Macedonia. Their names are as follows: Mithad Emini (born 1945), Hasan Agushi (1960), Resmi Ejupi (1948), Selam Elmazi (1948), Shinazi Redjepi (1954), Husein Haskaj (1951), Burim Murtezani (1964), Akif Demiri (1941), Abdiselam Arslani (1946), and Eugen Cami.

According to the charges, Emini, Agushi, Ejupi, Elmazi, and Redjepi created a hostile association in October and November 1991 under the name "Headquarters for National Defense." Together with Haskaj, Arslani, Murtezani, Demiri, and Cami, they undertook a number of actions last November with the aim of using violence against the state order of the Republic of Macedonia.

The accusation stated that, in the course of October and November 1991, the accused Hasan, Ejupi, Elmazi,

Cami, and Redjepi had meetings in the house of Elmazi in Gostivar, and also in the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] offices, where it was decided to create paramilitary formations on the initiative of Mithad Emini and Hasan Agushi. A body called "Headquarters for National Defense" was designated as in command. They also decided to provide technical equipment, and personal data of those who were meant to join those formations, as well as to determine the positions of the top leadership of the Headquarters.

Mithad Emini was elected commander of the Headquarters, Resmi Ejupi was his deputy, Selam Elmazi was in charge of military issues, Shinazi Redjepi of the police, and Hasan Agushi was appointed military counselor. During December 1991 and January the next year the accused Agushi and Redjepi contacted Emini, who informed them about financial assistance, and they decided to supply themselves with computers from Switzerland with the help of the accused Elmazi and Murtezani. The computers, as the charges said, were meant for the preparation of programs on paramilitary formations, which would be exclusively composed of Albanians living on the territory of Macedonia. After the group had provided the computers (PC 486/33—HD 200 color and PC 286—HD 80 without a keyboard), they assembled them in Demiri's house in the village of Cegrane, where they created a computer center in which Agushi worked, while Murtezani was appointed the headquarters' courier.

In July 1992 the programs were thoroughly prepared in this center, and information gathered for the creation of the paramilitary army. "The Main Headquarters" was coded "777" and two battalions were formed for the Kumanovo district under the code "444455," three battalions for Skopje coded "333344" and "366," as well as two detachments coded "303" and "404." Three battalions for Tetovo district coded "222," "233," and "244" were created, as well as two detachments coded "102" and "202." There were also three battalions for Gostivar under the codes "122," "133," and "377," and two detachments coded "210" and "206," as well as a base coded "888." One battalion was planned for the Struga district under the code "111" and one battalion for Debar coded "555." Of course, commands were also appointed for these paramilitary formations.

Elmazi and Ejupi were appointed in the "Secretariat for National Defense and Territorial Autonomy—ILIRIDA" in April 1992. Later on, stamps for the Headquarters of National Defense in the Armed Forces of the Albanians and of the Main Headquarter "777" were prepared, as well as for the Cair district (in Skopje) under the code "333." Toward the end of 1992 they prepared the "Rule Book of the System of National Defense," which was meant only for the Albanians, including active officers in the Macedonian Army, who were supposed to form a government and other bodies of government and state institutions in conflict conditions.

In September 1991, at the initiative of Mithad Emini, as well as in December of the same year, this time in agreement with Agushi, Husein Haskaj, an administrator for operations and education in the District Headquarters of the Territorial Unit of Cair at the Macedonian Defense Ministry, was appointed commander of the battalion of the paramilitary army in Cair district, for which he got a code and received orders from Agushi. After that he started undertaking hostile activities against the Macedonian Army and Macedonian Interior Ministry, which he did not abandon after July 1993, when he was appointed to the Macedonian Defense Ministry. Haskaj started gathering information on 1,300 subjects to military conscription—Albanians from "his own" battalion—personal names, birthdates, addresses, ranks, and so on, and also couriers were appointed for contacts with the headquarters in Gostivar.

In January 1992 Haskaj received a blank application for the "mobilization plan" from his headquarters.

He prompted the plan the next month with information on persons who could take part in the mobilization, by determining the junctures, the links, and the mobilization areas, planned to be completed in a period of nine hours. That was meant to prevent mobilization and create conditions to break up the 14th Infantry Brigade, as well as other commands and units of the Macedonian Army. He delivered this document to the headquarters in Gostivar. Later on Haskaj made an analysis concerning the morale, the organization, and armament of the Macedonian Army and the Macedonian police, for which he prepared a written paper on 30 March 1993 entitled "Assessments on the Enemy" (number T 08-3), which he sent to the headquarters. In this document Haskaj characterized the Macedonian Army, the Macedonian Interior Ministry, the police, and the Macedonian orthodox people, as an "enemy."

According to the accusation, he sent a written request on 6 July 1993—he was then the commander of the Cair district battalion—that he himself typed, with his signature (request n. SO 7-5), in which he asked for the formation of a paramilitary independent unit for the village of Ljuboten (Skopje). This unit was supposed to be active outside the framework of the Macedonian Army, and he requested technical resources from his headquarters.

The accusation further stated that in February 1992 they provided via Shinasi Redjepi and on the orders of Mithad Emini a large amount of hard currency, including 95,000 Swiss francs, and Arslani and Ejupi provided 200 automatic rifles of Chinese origin from Albania. Moreover, they had organized the transport of these goods together with Eugen Cami to Gostivar. The arms were distributed, and 85 rifles were given to Redjep Shinasi, 25 of which were confiscated by the police in November.

The charges stated that Hasan Agushi created a "courier center" in December 1992 and January 1993, with the

code "201." The accord was that each courier should deliver the mail to Gostivar, it was further delivered to Demiri's house in the village of Cegrane, and the whole course was reported periodically. At the same time, Agushi had begun in December 1992 the appointment of the personnel for the courier center, among which, by order no. 012-15, prepared on 20 December, was the commander of the shooting squad and the Albanian military forces (code "210"), Arton Imeraj.

With a special order (4-07) of 11 January 1993 the new spot for courier link was appointed as the tea-shop "Besa" in Gostivar. Only two months later, on 20 and 21 March last year, all the commanders were informed with a special order about the "problem" of the Albanians and the "Slavs," which, according to them, had to be solved in an armed battle, and it suggested that the commanders of the military units should make a weekly (also more frequent) analysis of the Macedonian Army and the Interior Ministry. It was also suggested that the possible contacts with Headquarters (777) had to be made each Saturday, between 0900 and 1800 at Akif Demiri's.

The reports on the needs of the Headquarters of the Albanian (para)military forces were prepared in June and July, in which there was information on the "enemy," that is, the technical means, the directions, and the numerical data of the Macedonian Army and Interior Ministry units. To that purpose they had prepared precise reports from 13 to 28 July, as well as a report under the code name of "Mehmedi 210."

The charges accuse the 10 persons of: associating with the aim of hostile activities according to Article 136, Paragraph 1, and Article 144—attacking the constitutional order of the Republic of Macedonia, by the Criminal Statute of the Republic of Macedonia.

Moreover, the accused have engaged the following as their defense counsels: Gjuran Dema, Savo Kocarev, Mahmut Jusufi, Naim Selmani, and Numan Limani, the last of which will defend four of the accused (Murtezani, Haskaj, Cami, and Arslani), and attorney Dusko Apostolski is also expected to join these next Monday.

Montenegro

Government Denies Mobilizing Refugees

LD0702112594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1038 GMT 7 Feb 94

[Text] Podgorica, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—The Government of Montenegro has no official reports on or evidence of the mobilization of refugees, TANJUG was told today by Rade Perovic, deputy prime minister in the Montenegrin Government. The parliamentary Social-Democratic Party of Montenegro was the first to voice its opinion in reaction to reports on the alleged mobilization of refugees claiming that "with the blessing from the republic's bodies and the support of military authorities, refugees

from the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina are issued call-ups to be mobilized into the army of the republic of Srpska."

The issue was also raised at a session of the Montenegrin parliament, held last week, when deputy Savo Jablan asked: "Who is behind the forced mobilization of refugees in Montenegro, and what is its aim?". Stressing that the government of Montenegro has no official reports on the alleged mobilization, Perovic, in charge of that ministry, claims that the UN convention on the status of refugees is honored in Montenegro.

"A decree on the care for refugees, passed in July 1992, regulates their position and status, and they are exempt from mobilization," Perovic stressed.

More Arrests of Muslims in Sandzak Region

LD0502185394 Tehran IRNA in English 1832 GMT
5 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, Feb. 5, IRNA—The Montenegrin Interior Ministry has announced charges against eight more Muslims from the Sandzak region according to the Belgrade press Saturday. At least 150 prominent Muslims have been arrested by the Serbian and Montenegrin authorities over the past two weeks and many more since Spring 1993, according to Sandzak sources.

The accused, according to the Ministry statement, are "members of the extreme wing of the (Muslim) Party for Democratic Action (SDA), who were preparing to create a republic of the Sandzak". Of the four arrested so far, the first, Umer Hadzic, is accused of "participating in the constitution of the Sandzak Republic on the instructions of Muslim National Council (MNVS) chairman, Sulejman Ugljanin."

The authorities hold a warrant for Ugljanin's arrest. This was carried out, the statement said, "with the help of legal experts from Croatia, Bosnia and elders of the Islamic community in Zagreb."

The other three are accused of forming a parallel "ministry of security" for the Sandzak and with possession and distribution of arms in Pljevlja, a Montenegrin town notorious for its harassment of the Muslim population.

The MNVS has reported mass arrests of prominent Muslims over the past ten days, including the leadership of the Montenegrin SDA. Muslims are subjected to house searches without warrant, the confiscation of valuables and general police terror, MNVS said.

For two years now, countless attacks on Muslim people and property have taken place in Pljevlja and other places in Sandzak, a mainly Muslim area which stretches over parts of Serbia and Montenegro, bordering on Bosnia.

According to the fund for human rights in Belgrade, harassment has not been confined to Serb and Montenegrin nationalists, but also to large forces of the police and army. This has led to the emptying of Sandzak villages of their Muslim population and to a mass exodus from the region.

Opposition weekly VREME in its latest edition refers to the trial of 25 Muslims which opened on January 31 in Novi Pazar. According to Belgrade TV's reporting of the event, says VREME, "all the accused are guilty already. All that has to be done is to pronounce sentence."

"Not a word that they were questioned without the presence of a lawyer, that there was no legal proceeding, that the security around the court was of an unprecedented degree, that lawyers were searched before they entered the court, that large numbers of investigators were scattered about the court and that the press had printed parts of the accusation before the trial, thus, raising the temperature," says VREME. Ultimately, the court was obliged to accept the defence's contention that the trial had been prejudiced by advance publicity and to adjourn it for ten days.

Leading the defence is Kosovo Albanian lawyer, Azem Vllasi, himself the victim of a rigged political trial during the surge of Serb nationalism which followed the coming to power of Slobodan Milosevic in 1988.

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